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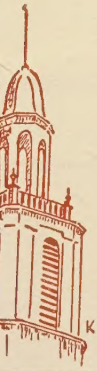

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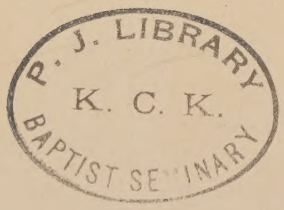

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THE ST. LOUIS CHURCH SURVEY

H. PAUL DOUGLASS

The Institute of Social and Religious Research, which shares responsibility for this publication with the Church Federation of St. Louis, was organized in January, 1921, as the Committee on Social and Religious Surveys. It conducts and publishes studies and surveys and promotes conferences for their consideration. The Institute's aim is to combine the scientific method with the religious motive. It coöperates with other social and religious agencies, but is itself an independent organization.

The directorate of the Institute is composed of: John R. Mott, Chairman; Ernest D. Burton, Secretary; Raymond B. Fosdick, Treasurer; James L. Barton, W. H. P. Faunce, and Kenyon L. Butterfield. Galen M. Fisher is Executive Secretary. The offices are at 370 Seventh Avenue, New York City.

ZION GERMAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

The typical church of St. Louis is a small church of the family type, carrying on a traditional religious life with a limited program of service

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(THE) ST. LOUIS CHURCH SURVEY:

A RELIGIOUS INVESTIGATION WITH A SOCIAL BACKGROUND.

BY

H. PAUL DOUGLASS

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND CHARTS

Church Survey
title

NEW YORK;
GEORGE H. DORAN COMPANY.
1924.

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INTRODUCTION

THE SURVEY AND THE CITY

SURVEY MOTIVE

The basic reason for a survey of any city is the difficulty which practical men find in determining what is wise and right amid the confusions of so vast and complicated a phenomenon of civilization. This difficulty includes the church. The churches of St. Louis have long been aware of it. This Survey is primarily the result of their attempt to meet and conquer it.[1]

The church has long been acutely conscious of its urban problem, has spoken much of it in general terms, has defined some of its typical problems—those for example of the foreigner, of the down-town section, of transient population, and of the rural emigrant—has had many heart-searchings on the desertion of the most needy population by Protestantism, and has ended with something of the sense of awe and bafflement which beset the rurally-minded Hebrew prophet, Jonah: "That great city"—who is sufficient for it and how shall the church learn to serve and to master it at once?

Here and there, to be sure, exist shining examples of conspicuously successful city churches. But no one knows how to transfer the secret of their success to other situations. The analysis of the situation into its permanent elements is incomplete. The science of city churchmanship does not exist. Very little indeed is at hand constituting a dependable basis for action, very little that shows how to make a local church program which shall be fundamental rather than temporary or imitative—which shall grow out of an understanding of urban people and situations and not depend upon the fluctuation and risks of personal insight.

Yet in the city of St. Louis alone there are nearly four hundred Protestant churches continuously engaged in making decisions. Their pastors plan, their boards of deacons and trustees confer, their congregations debate and finally vote.

These discussions involve a wide range of problems, and the decisions ought to be made only in the light of well-ascertained facts.

1 For a historical narrative of the Survey in detail see Appendix, Section 1.

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Shall a church be organized? Where shall it build and what sort of a building shall it have? What types of service shall it attempt? When once established what changes of program will it need to consider? How shall it secure funds? Ought it perhaps to move? How should it coöperate with its neighboring churches and in what specific place ought it serve the community?

These are not academic problems but simply the types of specific issues that are always coming up.

Almost all of them involve decisions in the denominational realm as well as within that of the local congregation. Denominational policy has to decide when there shall be another church; where it shall be located; how it should get its building; where the funds are to come from; how it should be related to the other churches of the same community; and what effect a given major policy or critical decision, such as that of removing a church, will have upon the fortunes of the ecclesiastical group.

National denominational policies are involved, both on the financial side and in regard to strategy, because cities are centers in which church work is keenly watched by national leaders.

At the same time the other constructive forces of the city—the several denominations as coöperators or competitors, the social agencies doing work which lies near to that of the church—all of these and the welfare of them all are involved, implicitly or explicitly, in the decision of these manifold practical issues.

Finally, as the church in its great divisions, Catholic, Protestant and Hebrew, seeks to relate itself to the total life of humanity, the major decisions of churchmanship touch and are sometimes merged with the great constructive purposes of the city as a whole.

In all these wide ranges of connection involving the church, some one needs to know at every point the utmost that can be known that throws light upon his action. He is compelled to act. In most cases before the decision can become effective some supporting constituency has to be convinced. Since the church must do the major part of its work through voluntary service, it must be shown that such service is worth while. Trusting followers and sometimes doubting and suspicious ones commit the solemn fortunes of their Christian consecrations to their leaders. Most of the mighty decisions as well as the minor ones are made upon grounds of what is called moral certainty; but which too frequently, should be called immoral uncertainties. Yet events will not wait for ignorance to become wise. For better or for worse, decisions must be made. Frequently they spell life or death to institutions—sometimes to individual faiths. The Survey will amply show how constantly the church has been confronted by major crises and has

acted not on the basis of sifted facts but by impulse and partial knowledge.

Now not all who need light consciously want it. The Survey, however, revealed such tremendous results from wrong decisions that no sane person can doubt the church's need of putting solider ground under their feet.

And there are always some who, in their hearts, are yearning for a survey. Their prayer—"O God, help me to do my work better"—sounds just like the praying of others; but it has a different inner meaning. It originates in a sense of vocational responsibility. Men like this know that there is a certain accuracy of knowledge, a technical skill and efficiency of understanding experience which is the secret of success except in those rare cases where genius seems to be a substitute. They feel that it is a shame for a Christian leader not to be as competent a workman as are the children of this world in their generation. They realize that they ought to substitute "know so" for "guess so" as the basis of their work. They feel that even spiritual insight needs facts to work upon. This type of church leader actually exists. He desires to base churchmanship upon broad and accurate knowledge and to benefit in the religious field by a method that has universal acceptance in all other serious lines of human endeavor.

OTHER ST. LOUIS SURVEYS

The conscientious man bearing the burden of the church in any capacity has not been so well served in this matter as have men working in other fields. In St. Louis the needs of the latter have been well met. There have been no fewer than four major surveys within recent years. (1) An industrial survey made by Ernest P. Goodrich, Consulting Engineer of New York for the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce, in 1919. (2) A public school survey carried out by a composite group of national educational experts for the St. Louis Board of Education, in 1917. (3) A survey of social and philanthropic institutions made for the Central Council Social Agencies by Francis McLean, of New York, Secretary of the Society for Organizing Charity, in 1916. (4) The elaborate studies made in recent years of the City Plan Commission on use districts, street system, transportation, housing, recreation, etc., constituting a most complete survey of the problems of physical improvement in their relation to fundamental community welfare.

In this Survey the St. Louis churches put themselves on the level with the other major interests in the city in the matter of a

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scientific basis for their business. This is its significance and its justification.

It is perhaps fair to record at this point that the Survey was not conceived and carried out as a single piece of work continuously under the same administration and auspices. It was devised on a vast scale as part of the monumental project of the Interchurch World Movement for nation-wide and world-wide surveys on which to base a program of united Protestantism. It ended much more modestly, content to conserve certain rapidly diminishing values, to deal with fragments of basic material and to build upon the incomplete and largely impossible foundations of others. Superstructure and ground plans under these conditions could not possibly match. Or, to change the figure, the good ship St. Louis Survey stranded upon a Mississippi River sandbar soon after it was launched. Along came the Committee on Social and Religious Surveys, now the Institute of Social and Religious Research, as a salvaging crew, united with the local forces to make emergency repairs, completed a much less pretentious vessel than was originally intended, and got her afloat. No one would have chosen this method. The results do not constitute and never have been represented as constituting a model survey. They respect and offer themselves for what they are worth.

OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

This book is divided into two parts. The first deals with the city as a whole and formulates conclusions in terms thought to be applicable to large American cities generally. The second part is much briefer. It deals with local divisions of the city as intensively studied by the Survey and formulates conclusions in terms specifically applicable to St. Louis in its particular religious policy.

The first part is sub-divided into four sections. The first section, consisting of Chapters I and II, is historical, culminating in a descriptive summary of the present city. It shows the coming of churches to match the elements of population as they have entered into the make-up of St. Louis from the first; the necessity for people of each new kind to establish their own religious institutions because of the inability of old churches generally to satisfy them or to reach across social strata.

The second section, consisting of Chapters III and IV, is geographical. It shows the distribution of the churches over the surface of the city, their amazing transience and mobility and the geographical variations of the social and religious fortunes of the people, with indications of the basic clews of religious success or failure. It shows that social and religious excellence do not neces-

sarily go together, nor social and religious deficiency, and that specific explanations must be sought for the particular religious ranking of any given part of the city.

The third section, Chapters V to VIII, generalizes the Survey data concerning the local units of religious organizations, namely, the churches, Sunday schools and parishes. It shows their generally conventional forms and tendencies but also their increasing range and variety in a typical American city.

The final section, Chapters IX to XI, summarizes the ecclesiastical and philanthropic data by denominations, giving some account of the chief coöperative movements of Protestantism and concluding with an analysis of the trends and characteristics which make a Protestant city church a "high hazard."

Part II has two chapters, both of them appealing more distinctly to people in St. Louis than to those in other cities, and yet indispensable to any complete understanding of the Survey as well as of St. Louis. Chapter XII, on typical survey districts, summarizes the results of intensive field studies over a geographical cross-section of the city. It is logically a continuation of Chapter IV.

Chapter XIII consists of findings and recommendations critically considered and adopted by the local Survey Committee.

The Appendix gives an outline of the history of the Survey, discusses its more technical methods and summarizes some of its basic statistical data.

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KEY MAP

St. Louis survey districts for use in connection with charts 9-19, 22-26, 38 and 56.

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PART I

THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION IN AN AMERICAN CITY

PART I: THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION IN AN AMERICAN CITY

Chapter I

ST. LOUIS AND HER RELIGIOUS INHERITANCE

The confluence of the two greatest streams of the continent was the predestined center of American westward expansion via the waterways.

Here was flourishing an aboriginal metropolis when Columbus discovered America. Its site to-day is represented by a number of prehistoric earthworks at several points near or within the present boundaries of St. Louis, the Cahokia Mound on the Illinois side being the largest on the continent.

Together with the Illinois, which connected by a portage with the Great Lakes, the Missouri and the Mississippi constituted the greatest natural highway of the new world. By the Missouri highway alone was it possible to penetrate deep into the far west. The most extensive western movement of settlement was down the Ohio River and thence by these waterways. As they had been the main routes of the savage, so they became the main routes of the frontiersman and of the fur trader. St. Louis thus occupied a central and commanding position with reference to the whole movement that peopled the heart of the continent.

The Era of the Moccasin

The original explorers of the Mississippi valley were adventurous Jesuits, even more concerned to extend the Kingdom of God than that of France. Its earliest occupancy by white men had thus a distinctively religious motive.

For seventy-five years before the founding of St. Louis—while hunters, woodsmen, trappers and fur traders, priests and missionaries continued to adventure the wilderness in romantic succession to the first explorers—French-Canadian farmers were settling themselves here and there on the Illinois side of the river.

THE FOUNDING OF THE CITY

In 1764 came the actual settlement of St. Louis under Leclede. The coming of his pioneer group was a further step in the agricultural occupancy of the Mississippi valley. He represented a French development company. He brought a carefully chosen colony properly balanced in numbers as among clerks, skilled mechanics and laborers, who proceeded to lay out a rural settlement. The barns were duly disposed behind two streets of houses with fields to the west and common pastures to the south. The little stream dividing field and pasture was soon dammed, and a grinding mill was started.

Leclede's colony represented, on the one side, a further exploitation of the natural resources of the wilderness; on the other, a definite impulse toward home-making and state-building. The strategic location, however, of this particular rural colony with respect to the comings and goings of trapper and hunter gave it promise beyond others in the forty years preceding the Louisiana Purchase. Situated where all the main routes to the West converged, it early became the headquarters and supply point for the fur trade which gradually extended throughout the entire Rocky Mountain region. It also developed important commercial relations with the Spanish Southwest over the Santa Fé trail. The larger meaning of the whole movement, of which the settlement of St. Louis is a part, was, however, that white men had come to stay in the Mississippi valley, to tame its soil with the plow and to possess it as a place of homes.

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE

This larger fact is often obscured, in mental dramatization of the earlier period, by the glamor of the fur trade. The local imagination loves to picture St. Louis as drawing from many races and strains a type of man especially distinguished for enterprise and daring.

"French and Spanish from every province of France and Spain, French and Spanish creoles from Canada, New Orleans, Mexico, Cuba and Pensacola; Negroes from Guinea and the Congo, speaking French and Spanish patois or the dialect of speech of their native masters; nine tribes of Indians from Missouri and Illinois; French coureurs and voyageurs; Saxon hunters and trappers from the Adirondacks; American flatboat men, swaggering and rioting; Puritan; Virginia Cavalier; Army officer and Politician; English; Kentuckians and Irish."

Thus was pictured the composite population of St. Louis as late as 1820.

It was not, however, for the sake of a rabble of adventurers that Jefferson made the Louisiana Purchase, but for the benefit of those following the home-making example of Leclede's colony. The founding of St. Louis was itself the best evidence that the era of the moccasin was silently slipping away. It had lasted 125 years, during which time 2,500,000 people had filtered into the Mississippi valley. It ended with the beginning of the steamboat traffic on the waterways about 1817.

The New Agricultural Empire

At the beginning of this new era, St. Louis was a town of some 2,000 inhabitants, still two-thirds French, with French as the current language. It was, however, the center of a new agricultural empire, the dominant elements in the population of which were American. They were, and up to 1840 continued to be, overwhelmingly southern. During the more than two hundred years of American history previous to this date very distinct southern types had evolved—the planter with his comparative wealth, European connections and high civilization; the non-slave-holding middle class, representing economic tendencies parallel to those of New England, and the "mean white" following the frontier or stranded upon the poorer agricultural lands and in the mountains. Representatives of all these classes joined in the immigration to the Mississippi valley. The Missouri valley was especially favored by the planter and early received large acquisitions of both capital and culture from this class. The political expansion of the planter class in the older southern states, and the beginnings of the controversy over slavery were depopulating the South of its middle class during the very years of St. Louis' early enterprise. Such elements naturally furnished the smaller merchants for the new frontier. The rough Ozark country, beginning almost at the door of St. Louis, caught and held representatives of the confirmed frontier type.

THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES

Protestantism came in with the new tide of population as the unorganized religion of the pioneer. The crude frontiersman was accompanied by his equally crude preacher. The Southerners were for the most part Baptists and Methodists. St. Louis' first Protestant churches were built by these denominations and by the Presbyterians, in the years following 1818.

Eastern enterprise was just then beginning to catch visions of the possibilities of the West and to organize it for commercial

exploitation. Similarly, religious enterprise began to sense the West's religious possibilities, and to organize them through home missions. National home missionary strategy, as related to St. Louis, begins with the famous second tour of religious discovery made by Mills and Smith in 1814 as representatives of the Massachusetts and Connecticut home missionary societies. Traversing Illinois two years before they had found five Baptist churches with 120 members and five or six Methodist preachers with a following of some 600. Reaching St. Louis, they reported it as a town two-thirds Catholic which was very lax in Sabbath observance. It was already recognized, however, as a capital of the western frontier and became the object of thought and concern on the part of national religious leaders.

WESTERN EXPANSION

No other American city profited so much from the invention of the steamboat as St. Louis. So long as settlement mainly followed the waterways the frontier line kept the form and direction it had in 1820. At that time it ran from Detroit southeast to St. Louis and below St. Louis followed the Mississippi River to the Louisiana border. Its only thrust west of the Mississippi River was in a narrow belt in the valley of the Missouri River where it had already reached the present center of the state of Missouri. Chicago and Milwaukee were and for two decades remained frontier military posts outside the zone of settlement. West of St. Louis, however, settlement pushed on as far as the western border of the present states, while it had already crossed the Mississippi at many points to the south. Cincinnati and Louisville were becoming considerable cities; Detroit was still a frontier post. This expanding agricultural empire brought its products into the lap of St. Louis along the waterways.

The city gathered the surplus of the Mississippi valley—pork, flour, mules and tobacco—and transported them southward in exchange for cotton. The more northern part of the valley had already begun to feed the South. The main economic movement was north and south.

Even so St. Louis had gathered a population of only 16,500 people by 1840, seventy-five years after Leclede's time, though 6,000,000 people were then living in the Mississippi valley, which had become an active and self-conscious American rural empire.

The City in Mid-Career

Between 1840 and 1850 came the period of most rapid growth for St. Louis, largely on account of the influx of the Germans. Preceded by a few Irish, who were the earliest immigrant construction workers of the Mississippi valley, the great Teutonic flood came in the years immediately before and after the German revolution of 1848. Along with the Germans came many Bohemians, skilled and thrifty people impelled by similar political unrest in their home land, and at approximately the same time a greater stream of Irish immigration set in. St. Louis, in consequence, grew 372.8 per cent. between 1840 and 1850, reaching a population mark of 77,860 and advancing in rank from the twentieth to the sixth city in the United States. Its soberest citizens believed that it would soon become the greatest city in the land.

Religiously, the Irish and Bohemian elements chiefly reënforced the Catholic faith, though the Bohemians brought also a smothered Protestant tradition. The Germans were apparently somewhat evenly divided. From their coming dates the foundation of the Lutheran and similar churches, which have since constituted the largest single denominational element in St. Louis Protestantism.

In 1850 came the first railroad.

THE ERA OF RAILROADS AND INDUSTRIES

The railroad created a new situation, making it possible for civilization to develop independently of the waterways, and this development totally changed the economic prospect of St. Louis. Coincidently with the passing of economic control from the river and steamboat came the break-up of the northwestern frontier to which the St. Louis empire had owed its foundation and which had also protected it from rivals. The great Northwest was at length open. The congested population of the industrial Northeast began to dominate western expansion. The main economic movements of the continent began to run east and west rather than north and south. The best soil of the nation gave encouragement to prairie farming, which brought to its aid newly invented agricultural implements and unprecedented reserves of capital, thus making possible the rapid conquest of the new areas. Railroads, compelled to converge at the foot of Lake Michigan, created a new center from which they set forth again to gridiron the West. The earliest American sectional division had arrayed the West against the East, and St. Louis, queening it over the Mississippi valley, reaped the first great advantage of its sectional economic movement. Now came

another sectionalism, which split the nation into North versus South along the Mason and Dixon line, and temporarily arrayed the fragments of St. Louis' economic empire behind the opposing battle lines. In these and succeeding years St. Louis was hampered by the very elements which had been her ally all through her past, for the Mississippi River, unbridged until 1874, held back her western outreach by means of the railroad. No other American city ever suffered so complete a reversal of economic fortune; none probably has adapted itself more quickly to radical changes in economic and industrial activity. In the new era of the railroad, St. Louis "marked time, caught the cadence of the shriller whistle, and moved on with added prestige." When equilibrium was at length reached, the nation had economic movements both north and south and east and west, and from both St. Louis was in position to reap permanent advantage. She became one of the greatest railroad centers of the continent and her present strategic position is manifest and unassailable.

When St. Louis returned to a period of normal growth after 1880 the nation was no longer getting the same immigrant elements which had come to her in her earlier development. There had been a general checking of immigration from northern European countries, and tides of population from southern and eastern European lands were beginning to flow in its place. The percentage of this new strain of immigration which came to St. Louis was small compared to the proportion that went to other parts of the country. Its representatives were for the most part Russian Jews and Italians, and to a less extent Greeks, Roumanians and Jugo-Slavs.

NEW RELIGIOUS HERITAGES

Most of these new immigrants came from countries where the Roman Catholic faith predominates. As early as 1834 the Catholic Church in St. Louis established a service in the German language for German immigrants. She has cared similarly for the religious needs of successive waves of populations, establishing numerous foreign-language churches, with parishes corresponding to the needs of the foreign colonies rather than to the fixed boundaries of the original geographical parishes. Hebrews have formed a large element in the recent foreign immigration, with the result that the Jewish group in the foreign population of St. Louis now ranks in size next after the German and Slavic groups. Most of its representatives are so-called Russian Jews—immigrants from the territories known since the World War as Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Galicia, Russia and the Ukraine. Religious congregations were established

as early as 1836 and 1841 by German and Polish Jews, and the number has so increased that there are now twenty orthodox and four reformed synagogues.

It had been supposed in St. Louis that the foreign-born population was notably increasing and that the census of 1920 would show a gain of some 22,000. Instead, it showed a loss of almost exactly that number. Yet responsible church leaders were building programs predicated upon a steady alien increase!

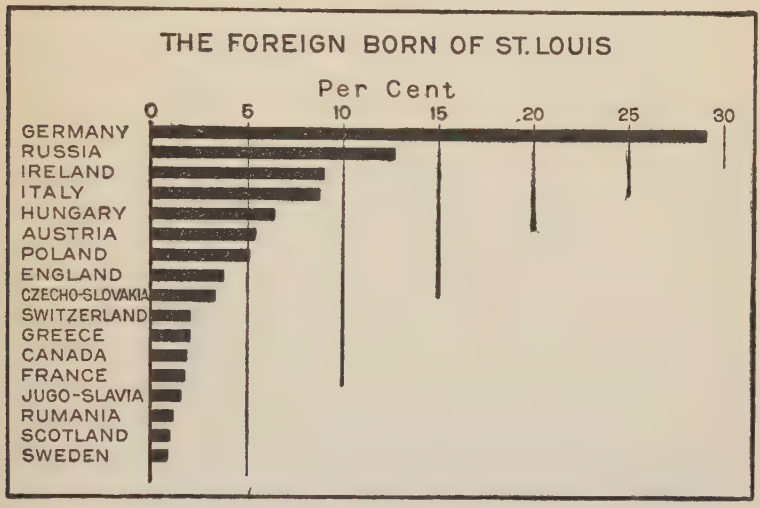


CHART 1

Distribution of foreign-born in 1920 by country of birth.

The newer foreigner in St. Louis occupies the status and bears the handicaps which are his characteristic lot throughout this country. He is a stranger, of alien language, illiterate, poorly housed and industrially exploited. He is not prepared for American citizenship. His group is unduly exposed to the chief social ills, such as infant mortality and juvenile delinquency. The proportion of the unchurched, however, is probably not so great as among the American-born population.

Recent History

RURAL DEPOPULATION AND CITY GROWTH

In the main, however, the recent growth of St. Louis represents a draft upon the surrounding rural population not equaled else-

where in the Union during the last decade. In eighty-nine of the 114 counties of Missouri outside of St. Louis, population has decreased for the last decade to a total of 84,230—a rural decrease which was but slightly less than the total net growth of the city.[1] Illinois, during the same decade, lost 80,000 rural people. Missouri lost 5.5 per cent. of its farms.

The remaining rural people are farming more land, keeping more stock and raising slightly larger crops than before; but rural decline at the same rate cannot possibly go on without disaster, and strain of social dislocation is already extreme both upon the open country which gives up its population and upon the city which receives it. Of all the affected institutions, that strain is heaviest upon the Protestant Church.

The rural immigrant is predominantly Protestant, and the Protestant churches of country and city are frequently joined in the same synods and district conferences. As ecclesiastical groups they suffer on both sides of the problem—on that of rural depopulation and on that of consequent city congestion. The same groups of people are concerned in both processes. So far as the native population is concerned the Survey shows that the rural immigrant is the most tragical figure in St. Louis, and that, on the whole, the Church is serving him very poorly. Even as to its native American elements, the city's growth is not without pain and cost.

THE NEGRO

The increase of the Negro population by 25,894 in the last decade (an increase of about 60 per cent.) is startling and has been viewed with the greatest alarm by many St. Louis people. Nevertheless, all it does is virtually to maintain the economic equilibrium. A dramatization of the movements of population during the last decade would show the foreign-born departing from the stage to be almost exactly balanced by the oncoming Negro group which takes up the work laid down by the foreigners. Failure of the Negroes to respond to the demand for workers in about their actual numbers would have spelled disaster to local industries with the withdrawal, largely as a result of the war, of 22,500 of the foreign-born.

The sudden influx of so vast a mass of Negro population does, nevertheless, constitute a serious problem of civic assimilation. The source of Negro immigration as of white has been mainly rural. The new Negro in St. Louis has come from the southern planta-

[1] Of course not all these rural losses were the gain of St. Louis; other great centers of population also show the profits of rural depopulation. It is certain that the equivalent of the departing rural population went into the larger cities, because the smaller cities of the St. Louis trade area have gained by not more than the amount of their own natural increase.

THE CAHOKIA MOUND

On the site of the aboriginal village grows the food of the present city

OLD "MC KINDREE" CHAPEL, A METHODIST MEETING HOUSE OF ST. LOUIS PIONEER TIMES

SECOND BAPTIST CHURCH

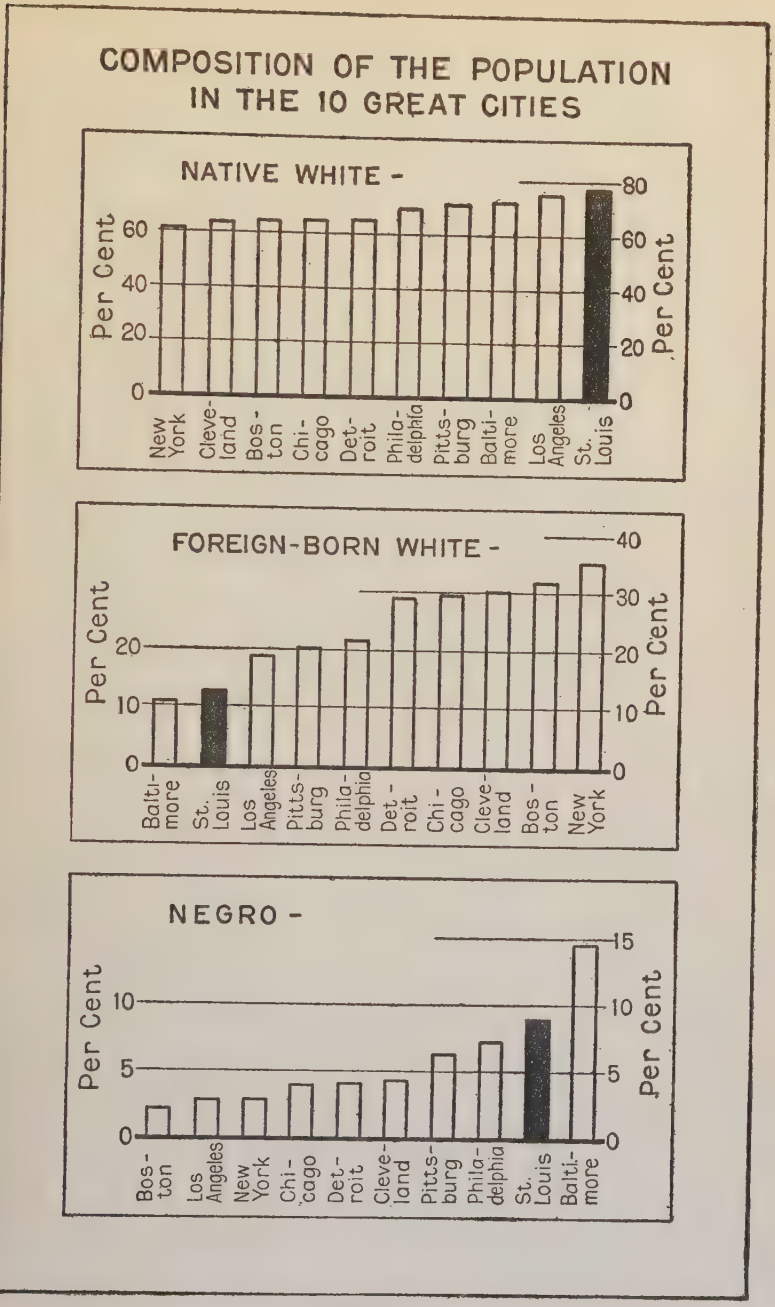

COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION
IN THE 10 GREAT CITIES
NATIVE WHITE -
Per Cent
0
20
40
60
80
New York
Cleve-land
Bos-ton
Chi-cago
Det-roit
Phila-delphia
Pitts-burg
Balti-more
Los Angeles
St. Louis
FOREIGN-BORN WHITE -
Per Cent
0
10
20
30
40
Balti-more
St. Louis
Los Angeles
Pitts-burg
Phila-delphia
Det-roit
Chi-cago
Cleve-land
Bos-ton
New York
NEGRO -
Per Cent
0
5
10
15
Bos-ton
Los Angeles
New York
Chi-cago
Det-roit
Cleve-land
Pitts-burg
Phila-delphia
St. Louis
Balti-more

CHART 2

tions. Nearly one-half of all Negro children in the city's elementary schools in 1920 were not born in St. Louis, nor even in the adjacent states of Missouri and Illinois. In the popular proverb they are "from Mississippi," the state which has contributed most largely to their coming and the single southern state which showed a net loss of population during the decade. Certainly most of the new Negro immigration is from the southern Mississippi valley, and directly from a former rural environment.

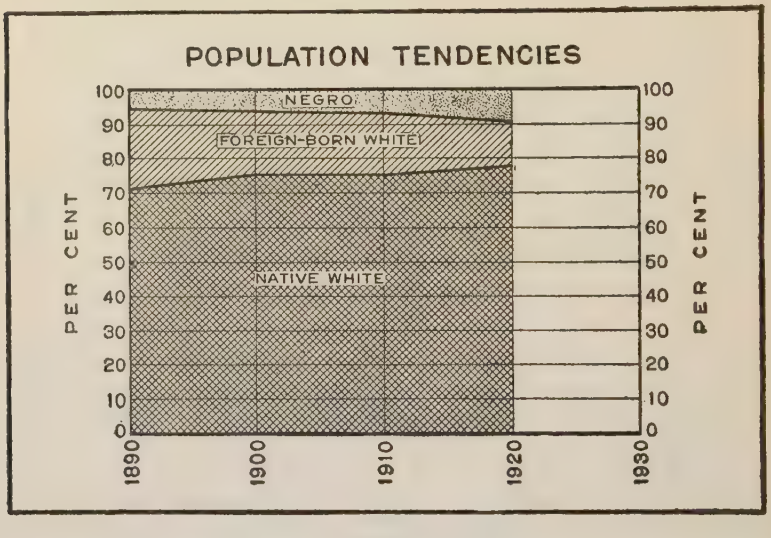


CHART 3

Foreign-born population is decreasing, native white population increasing in St. Louis.

The older Negro population has made remarkable progress in recent years, moving into more desirable environments and developing notable institutions. This progress has not been without misunderstanding and conflict; but the facts and results of it are written large upon the face of the city in highly creditable churches, houses and racial enterprise. The Negro population, on the other hand, bulks more largely in St. Louis than in any other city of more than half a million population except Baltimore, where it is 14.6 per cent. to 9 per cent. in St. Louis. This is entirely natural, for no others of the larger cities are similarly related to the South. The same handicap which the new foreigners undergo is the lot of the new Negroes, who constitute a clear majority of the total Negro population. They live in the same environments as the new foreigners and are frequently intermingled in the same blocks and dwellings.

Situated as it is midway between North and South, the attitude of St. Louis toward its Negro population is somewhat equivocal. It has not the clear and abiding sense of responsibility for its Negroes, nor has it yet made the hopeful efforts at race adjustment through formal interracial organizations which now characterize the leading cities of the South. On the other hand, it does not take the characteristic attitude of a northern city to the extent that its colored citizens perhaps believe to be natural.

From the religious standpoint the Negro population is almost exclusively a Protestant responsibility, while responsibility for the foreign-born is largely shared with the Roman Catholic Church.

COMPOSITION OF PRESENT POPULATION

The population of St. Louis is divided as in Table I.

TABLE I — COMPOSITION OF POPULATION, ST. LOUIS, 1920

	Number	*Per cent.*
Total population	772,897	100.0
Native-born white	599,376	77.5
Native white of native parentage	359,482	46.5
Native white of foreign or mixed parentage	239,894	31.0
Foreign-born white	103,239	13.4
Negro	69,854	9.0
All Other	428	0.1

The percentages for the two preceding decades were as follows:

	Per cent. 1900	*Per cent. 1910*
Native-born white	74.5	75.3
Foreign-born white	19.3	18.3
Negro	6.2	6.4

In other words, the proportion of native-born whites is steadily though slowly growing. The percentage of foreign-born population began declining slightly between 1900 and 1910 and notably in the last decade, there being a net loss of about 22,500. The Negro population increased very slightly between 1900 and 1910, but had an extraordinary increase of nearly 60 per cent. during the last decade.

THE GROWTH OF ST. LOUIS

The city proper has increased in population since 1870 as in Table II,

TABLE II—INCREASE OF ST. LOUIS POPULATION, 1870-1920

Date	*Population*	*Increase for Decade*	*Per cent. Increase*
1870	310,864		
1880	350,518	39,654	12.8
1890	451,770	101,252	28.9
1900	575,238	123,468	27.3
1910	687,029	111,791	19.4
1920	772,897	85,868	12.5

The growth of the last decade has been relatively slow. Detroit and Cleveland passed St. Louis in city population. Of all cities of more than 500,000 population only Boston and Pittsburgh grew more slowly than St. Louis in the city proper; and even they grew faster when the entire metropolitan district is considered, as shown in the following comparison:

Metropolitan District	*Per cent. Growth 1910-1920*
Pittsburgh	16.9
Boston	15.7
St. Louis	14.9

The average percentage of increase of population from 1910 to 1920 in the twenty-nine Metropolitan Districts, including thirty-two cities of more than 200,000 population, compared with that of St. Louis, was as follows:

	32 Cities Per cent.	*St. Louis Per cent.*
Metropolitan District	26.9	14.9
City Proper	25.1	12.5
Outside Central City	32.7	26.4

This means that in total urban growth St. Louis has only gone forward a little more than half as fast as the large-city group, a slow growth which may be accounted for by the location of St. Louis with reference to general population tendencies. Cities breed cities. There is no great city south of St. Louis and none west of it until the Pacific Coast is reached. It is on the frontier of intensive industrial development. The twelve states which produce 75 per cent. of the nation's manufactures lie to the northeast of it. It is the center of a group of states, which, except for Oklahoma, are showing less than average rapidity of growth. The most rapid growth of the last decade has been in the far West and along the Great Lakes.

Again St. Louis is handicapped because it lacks an adequate reservoir of near-by population to draw upon in more than half its tributary territory. Missouri is the only state west of the Mississippi

with a density of more than forty-five people per square mile, while only four states of the entire number east of the Mississippi have less than forty-five. With foreign immigration diminished and with such limited resources for new population, rapid growth cannot naturally be expected.

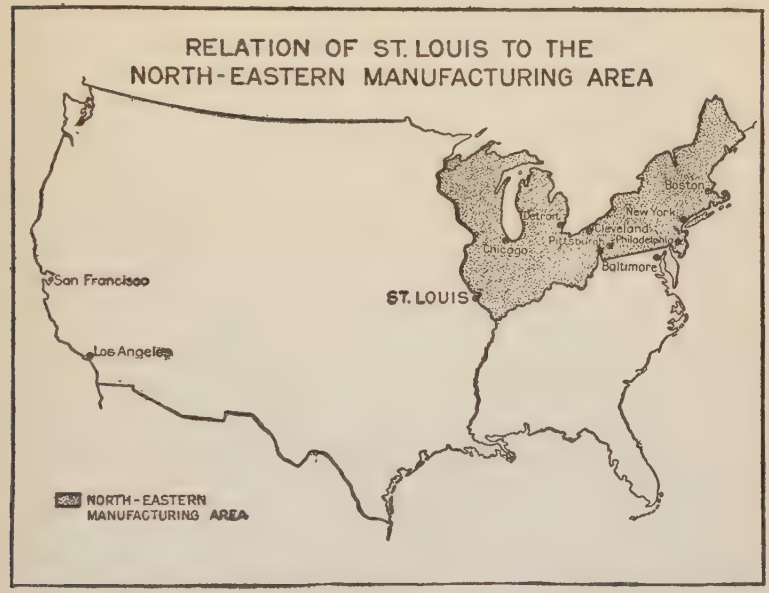


CHART 4

Seventy-five per cent. of the manufactured products of the United States are made in the states north and east of St. Louis. All the cities of over 500,000 population, except Los Angeles and San Francisco are in the same area.

RESULTS OF THE EBB AND FLOW

The foreign-born white population of St. Louis bears a smaller proportion to the total population than in any other large city, except Baltimore, as shown by a comparison of representative cities as follows:

City	*Per cent. Foreign-born, 1920*
New York	35.4
Boston	31.9
Cleveland	30.1
Chicago	29.8
Detroit	29.1
San Francisco	27.7
Buffalo	24.0

City	*Per cent. Foreign-born, 1920*
Philadelphia	21.8
Pittsburgh	20.4
Los Angeles	19.4
St. Louis	13.4
Baltimore	11.4

Possibly because of its smaller magnitude, the problem of these foreigners is realized with less discrimination and is less adequately met in St. Louis than in some cities where the problem is more sharply defined.

As a net result of the varying degrees of growth in these several elements of population, St. Louis is now more largely a native white city than it has been for sixty years. The mid-continental city thus bids fair to become the most representative American city. It exhibits the operation of all the forces which make our cities great; it knows all their problems, but is overwhelmed by none. It shows a typically balanced urban situation, in which the preponderant numbers and responsibilities lie with native-born white Americans. They share the city with other elements. Altogether they make up one community. The fortunes of the community, however, for better or worse, are increasingly in the hands of the native stock. Its virtues are their virtues, its faults their faults. Its future will be as they say.

In view of this slackening of growth as well as of the changed character of population, the church in St. Louis ought to be able to catch up with its urban problem. Christianity has an exceptional opportunity to show what it can do in a great city when not overwhelmed by a too rapid influx of alien and unadjusted peoples.

FUSING THE RELIGIOUS HERITAGES

The next step is manifestly to mold the historic accumulation of religious heritages and institutions into a form more perfectly expressing the unifying forces of the present.

It is written in the largest characters upon the whole face of the history of St. Louis that its religious institutions are a historic collection rather than a present-day expression of the city's religious mind and heart. They are in the main the creation of particular populations, each of which brought its own historic backgrounds when it came. They are Catholic or Protestant according as their ancestral streams flowed from Catholic or Protestant sources in lands across the seas. The Protestant churches are either German or American in tradition. They are either northern or southern. There are urban and there are rural denominations following in the

main the different threads of population. Protestantism is partly Negro and partly white. Each successive element which has come to the making of St. Louis has brought its own denominations and has sought out the historic strain of like-minded people among whom to perpetuate religious tradition originating in the past.

Protestantism, in other words, has not succeeded in reaching any group with which it was not indigenous. The Catholic Church appears to have done a little better. Protestantism has not even found it easy to succeed with people with whom it is indigenous in the sense that it has been able to make institutions developed on one social level available to people living on another. The most conspicuous and tragic illustration of this difficulty is the case of the new rural immigrant. He does not in the main go into existing Protestant churches even of the very denomination to which he belonged at home. In the large he feels compelled to start new churches. Not only, then, has each new Protestant element entering into St. Louis brought its own denominational version of faith, but it has largely brought its own local organizations. Protestant churches do not easily reach new-coming Protestant people if they differ in a considerable degree from the types already found in the churches. The present situation is the result of the historic accumulation of denominations and of the churches sprung from this process as it has gone on for one hundred years.

The molding of this accumulated mass into a set of religious organizations reflecting the growing unity of the city, serving its assimilated peoples and expressing the St. Louis of to-day is the next step of manifest destiny. Charity and coöperation must be its guardian angels.

Chapter II

THE CITY AND ITS FAITH

For each inhabitant of the city in each epoch of his life the church has a specific message. The city as a whole is the parish of the churches as a whole. Ideally the entire people are its parishioners.

To understand the city, the church must, therefore, count its people.[1] It counts them because it cares for them. It wants to know who they are and what they are doing.

A City Inventory

About 30 per cent. are persons under the age of eighteen, divided approximately as follows:

Infants and children under school age	70,000
Children of elementary school age	100,000
Adolescents of high school age	50,000

Just about one-half of the total population consists of people old enough to work but not beyond middle life, that is to say, between the ages of eighteen and forty-four. Only one-fifth of the population reaches middle age. The total of active population past middle life is 180,000. Finally, there are some 34,000 old folk beyond sixty-five years of age.

TABLE III — APPROXIMATE AGE-DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF ST. LOUIS

Age	*Number*	*Per cent.*
6 and under	72,000	9.3
7 to 13	97,448	12.6
14 to 17	44,168	6.2
18 to 44 (male, 185,194; female, 192,940)	378,134	49.0
45 to 64 (male, 71,500; female, 71,500)	143,000	18.5
65 and over	34,147	4.4

[1] The political city of St. Louis is part of a greater urban community of more than a million souls, including eighteen incorporated suburbs in Missouri and Illinois. (Fourteenth Census, Vol. I, Population, page 70.) Because comparable data for these minor divisions were not available this inventory is limited to the city proper.

WHAT THE PEOPLE ARE DOING

The 70,000 children under school age are generally at home.[2] Out of a school population of 160,000 some 140,000 are in schools, public and private. Of the children, however, between the ages of seven and eighteen only about 10,000 are not in school.

The Church has profound respect and sympathy for men in their work. In St. Louis 372,618 persons are gainfully employed, this

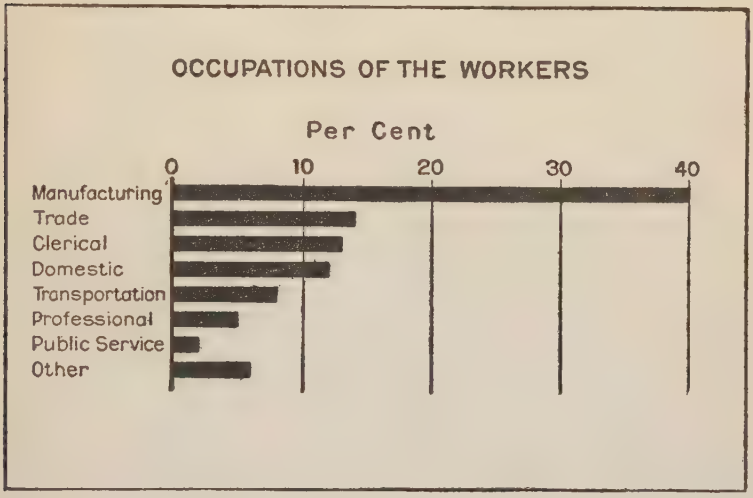


CHART 5

being 57 per cent. of the population of ten years of age and over. The workers include nearly all men between the ages of eighteen and sixty-five, and there are about 100,000 gainfully employed women. This, with a few very old people retired from all work, leaves rather more than 150,000 women above eighteen and under sixty-five to care for the 190,000 families of the city.

TABLE IV — APPROXIMATE STATUS OF POPULATION OF ST. LOUIS

Status	*Number*	*Per cent.*
Children at Home	72,000	9.3
Children and Youth in School	140,000	18.1
Men at Work	272,618	35.4
Women at Work	99,797	12.9
Women at Home	153,907	19.9
Old Men and Women Retired	34,147	4.4

2 There are about 5,000 dependent children in institutions for whom the church feels special tenderness and responsibility.

URBAN PECULIARITIES

The Church needs to understand the changes in the balance of population involved in modern urban life. St. Louis, like all great cities, has fewer infants and more adolescents than are found in the population of the nation as a whole. The line of baby carriages does not exceed the line of coffins as much as it does in rural regions; but on the other hand, surplus thousands of adventurous youth have crowded into the city to try their fortunes. Like other great centers of population, St. Louis is a city of young men and young women. The proportion of population not living in families is large, and in certain areas there is a piling up of excess male population.

THE ECONOMIC COMMUNITY

All the elements of population previously enumerated are united in St. Louis in the business of producing wealth. The occupational census of population in 1920 showed 372,618 gainfully employed, of whom 73 per cent. were men and 26.8 per cent. were women:

TABLE V — OCCUPATIONAL CENSUS OF POPULATION OF ST. LOUIS, 1920

Occupation	*Number*	*Per cent.*
Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries	151,476	40.7
Trade	57,253	15.4
Clerical Occupations	53,619	14.4
Domestic and Personal Service	48,018	12.6
Transportation	33,612	9.0
Professions	19,486	5.2
Public Service	7,497	2.0
All Other Occupations	2,657	0.7
Total Gainfully Employed	372,618	100.0

The gain in women workers for the decade was 2.82 per cent., a rather small net result in view of the expansion of women's employment during the war period. About one-half of the employed women work in factories; about one-tenth in stores, telephone and telegraph offices, and one-tenth in clerical positions or business offices, while one-fifth are domestics. There are from three to four thousand women engaged in various professions, of which teaching employs the largest number.[3]

[3] Except for a brief war-time study of women in industry, made by the Young Women's Christian Association, there is no general information as to the problem of the St. Louis woman worker.

THE STRENGTH OF DIVERSIFIED INDUSTRY

St. Louis has the most balanced situation of any great American city. With a population of three-quarters of a million, it has 3,500 factories and approximately 10,000 retail businesses. It has twenty-six steam railroads and four electric lines. Of the total workers, some 50 per cent. are engaged in manufacturing,[4] and 40 per cent. in distribution.[5] Only 8 per cent. of her wage workers are in St.

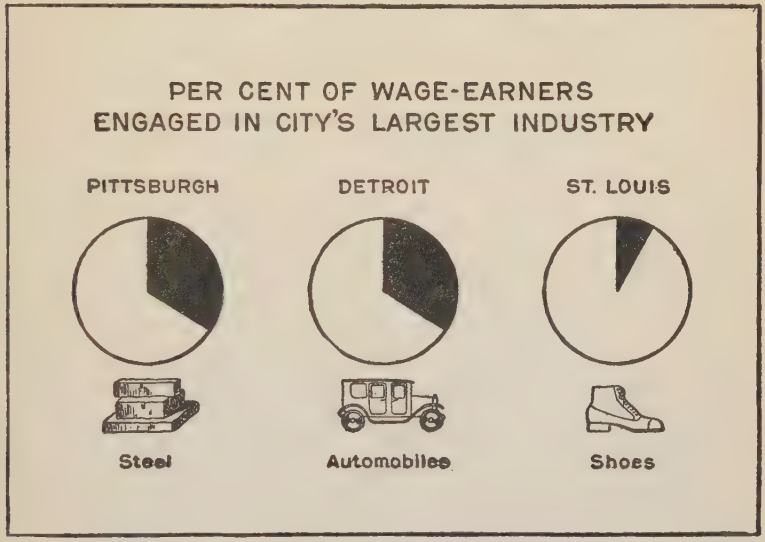


CHART 6

St. Louis' greatest single industry employs only 8 per cent. of her wage workers. The city is not at the mercy of the fortunes of one dominant industry.

Louis' largest industry, the production of shoes, while 10.5 per cent. of Chicago's wage workers are engaged in her largest industry, the production of clothing. At the other extreme stands Pittsburgh, 35.5 per cent. of whose workers are in iron and steel production, and Detroit with 33.5 per cent. of her workers making automobiles. Only twenty-seven out of one hundred wage workers are in the four largest industries of St. Louis, while about sixty are in Pittsburgh's four largest.

4 The chief manufactured articles are shoes, of which the city produces approximately one-fifth of the total output of the United States; foundry products; printing and clothing, followed closely by drugs, lead products, brick and tiles, stoves and ranges, steel castings, street cars, sash and doors.

5 The wholesale business of the city has as its chief lines dry goods, boots and shoes, groceries, lumber, steel and iron, drugs, furs, paints, furniture, clothing, millinery, hats and caps and meat-packing products.

This more even distribution of workers makes a vast difference in hard times. It is a difference between having one-third of one's economic eggs in one basket and having one-tenth or less. Close down the four largest industries of St. Louis, and only one-fourth of the city's workers are "laid off," while 60 per cent. of the workers of Pittsburgh would be affected in the same circumstances.

CONSTRUCTIVE FORCES

St. Louis compares favorably with the other cities in its municipal government. It has a new and modern charter, a department of public welfare that serves most of the social interests of its citizens, and a city plan commission whose projects, when worked out, will put St. Louis in the van of American cities with respect to convenience, health and beauty.

The schools constitute a well-developed urban system with special schools, night continuation and summer schools supplementing the standard type. Within the last few years the proportion of the high school departments to the elementary departments has risen from 3 per cent. to 13 per cent. The city's more recent school buildings are regarded as models and have been widely copied. It has a teachers' college and two universities and is a center for medical and for musical education. In addition to the public schools, there are excellent Roman Catholic, Lutheran and private schools. The St. Louis Public Library system is doing a conspicuous social service through the extension work in the various congested neighborhoods inhabited by foreign-born citizens.

The attitude of the school system toward the enlarged use of the school plant for neighborhood purposes, is not, however, cordial. The school system's own investment for neighborhood work is trivial. In general, social utilization of the school plant, under school auspices, is far less advanced than in other cities.

The citizens of St. Louis possess for recreation one of the notable municipal plants of the country, consisting of about 5,500 acres of parks and playground property, divided among six large parks and including Forest Park of 1,380 acres, and fourteen neighborhood parks. They have thirty-one playgrounds which are used annually by 1,800,000 people, and four swimming pools and four municipal baths with an annual patronage of nearly 900,000. Thirteen community centers, with an annual attendance of 270,000, are conducted under public auspices. The Municipal Athletic Association, fostering a wide range of sports, has enrolled many hundreds of thousands of participants annually. The football and baseball games alone are witnessed by more than 1,000,000 people.

CIVIC MOVEMENTS AND AGENCIES

Commercial idealism took creative form in the St. Louis Exposition. It has received more recent expression in the Chamber of Commerce, especially through its development department, which conducts an evangelism of goodwill and has exercised great influence in promoting the better civic possibilities of the small communities within the city's trade area.

The St. Louis Civic League flourished up to the time of the World War and carried on a series of stimulating and authoritative studies covering a wide range of city problems. Many of its recommended reforms have been realized. Politically organized women have more recently brought in the point of view that local government is simply a form of good housekeeping and are steadily influencing the fundamental thought of the city. The City Club does much to keep alive civic interests.

The war brought new forms of civic coöperation and a new sense of solidarity, the forms and habits of which are easily available for the expression of united public sentiment, as recently mobilized in behalf of world peace. The Central Council of Social Agencies—a federation and a joint bureau of the leading philanthropies and community-serving organizations of all faiths as well as non-sectarian ones—has recently evolved into the Community Council, and a joint financing of the three agencies through a Community Chest is to have early trial.

CULTURAL TRADITION

St. Louis enjoys and deserves its reputation as a city of popular culture. The city library is well housed and progressively administered. St. Louis' musical tradition is one of its Teutonic and Slavic heritages. There are many excellent singing societies, which are frequently massed in large choral groups for civic anniversaries. The city has not only its own symphony orchestra, but the first municipal opera in the United States. This is conducted during the summer in a great out-of-door theater in Forest Park and is now more than self-supporting. The art of pageantry was applied with conspicuous success to the celebrations of the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Founding of the City and of the State Centennial. The famous spectacular parade of the Veiled Prophet, which reflects a mingling of civic and commercial motives, has been held annually for forty-three years.

SOCIAL LEVELS OF POPULATION

Prosperity in St. Louis does not mean prosperity for all its people. Whether St. Louis is better or worse than other cities it shares with all of them great and crying contrasts in the standards of living of its people. The geography of these contrasts has been worked out by the Survey. The twenty-three Survey districts have been ranked by each of the following social criteria: foreign-born population, Negro population, illiteracy, juvenile delinquency, degree of occupancy of industry, gain or loss of population, congestion of population, home ownership, infant mortality, poverty, and mortality from tuberculosis.[6]

On the basis of these eleven criteria, the Survey has divided the entire area of St. Louis by districts into four classes, indicating the different levels of social advantage:

A = the best; B = above the average; C− = below the average; D = the least desirable.

Thus, the least desirable areas of the city have three times as many foreigners as the best. Negro population runs as high as 37 per cent. in some districts, while it is negligible in others. On four decisive criteria of social health the case rate of the least desirable districts exceeds that of the best in the following ratios: infant mortality, four times as frequent; deaths from tuberculosis, eight times as frequent; juvenile delinquency, twelve times as frequent; illiteracy, twenty-two times as frequent. They have almost twice as many families per dwelling, and home ownership is only one-thirteenth as frequent.

This means that the best that American civilization can do in one of the greatest and foremost of its cities is to leave more than one-half of the people living on a distinctly lower level of advantage than their fellows and more than one-third of the people under conditions which constitute a definite physical and moral handicap.

The People's Faith

No survey yet devised has been able to show how much worse the case of the American city would be were it not for religious faith and the Church which is its social expression. The Survey will show the reason for suspecting that religion in St. Louis is socially more conservative than progressive. Its power to comfort people under conditions which must be borne at least temporarily has been greater than its impulse to remedy the conditions. Yet

[6] See Appendix, p. 281.

the continual quickening of both the personal and the collective vital forces under the impulse of religion constitutes an unquestionable tendency toward improvement.

From the standpoint of size alone the forces holding the Christian faith in common must be recognized as among the greatest forces making for the unity and progress of St. Louis. The people are divided religiously as in Table VI.

TABLE VI — MAJOR RELIGIOUS DIVISIONS OF ST. LOUIS

Faith	*Adherents*	*Per cent.*
Protestant	267,921	34.4
White	(210,669)	
Negro	(57,252)	
Roman Catholic	302,270	38.9
Hebrew	20,252	2.6
Greek Orthodox and Other Faiths	3,000	.4
Total Adherents	593,443	76.3
Non-Adherents	179,454	23.7

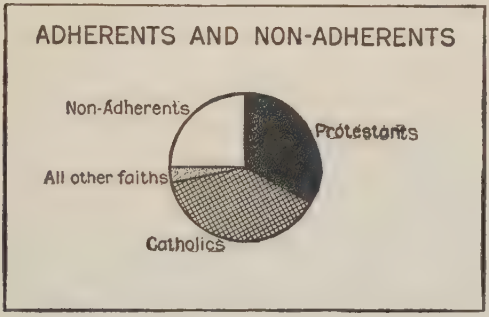


CHART 7

Relative proportions of population adhering to the various faiths in some present and practical way. Many of the non-adherents have distinguishable religious antecedents but are unchurched.

THE MAJOR RELIGIOUS GROUPS

The underlying Protestant interest of the Survey has been announced at the outset. The contents of the Survey throughout are largely concerned with the fortunes of the nearly four hundred Protestant churches. Its conclusions finally focus upon a consideration of the Protestant problem in St. Louis. It is believed, however, that the Survey is scientific in spirit. It regards the 34 per cent. of the people who are Protestant as samples of all the religious people of the city. The tendencies of church life and the principles illus-

trated by the Protestant churches are instructive alike to Catholic and Hebrew, who together constitute a numerically larger element in the combined religious life of the community.

ROMAN CATHOLIC CONSTITUENCY

The Roman Catholic constituency is well distributed throughout the city but is most numerous in the foreign and industrial districts, while the Protestant tends to be strongest in the residential districts and is far in the lead in the West End.

There are ninety-three Catholic churches in the city proper of which the larger number serve geographical parishes. About twenty have special constituencies consisting chiefly of national groups of the foreign-born. There are also numerous chapels connected with charitable and educational institutions.

Eighty-four Catholic parishes maintain parochial schools with an enrollment, in 1921, of 26,753 pupils. There are also Catholic high schools, seminaries for the training of priests, academies for young men and women, and St. Louis University with its numerous professional departments.

The religious staff consists of the authorities of the diocese, headed by the archbishop, and 400 priests, about two-fifths of whom are members of religious orders.

Relationships between the organized Catholic and Protestant forces are largely negative, though many friendly and coöperative local contacts exist, such as between neighboring pastors, and in forms of localized social work. There is good team work between the workers at the courts in such matters as the disposal of delinquent children. The Committee of Fifty for the Suppression of Vice is the most important example of active and continuous coöperation between the organized Protestant and Catholic forces. It is supported actively by both the Church Federation and the Catholic diocesan authorities, and the leading organizations of both faiths participate in it. This Committee has an aggressive legislative program in which it has been partially successful, and is continuously active in the enforcement of law and in influencing the city administration in matters pertaining to morality.

THE HEBREW RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY

St. Louis has twenty synagogues, of which twenty-three are Orthodox and four Reformed. Their distribution generally follows that of Jewish population, which has followed a direct path from

ST. LOUIS STATUE IN FRONT OF THE ART MUSEUM, FOREST PARK

NEW ROMAN CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL

ST. JOHN'S METHODIST EPISCOPAL SOUTH, ADJOINING TEMPLE ISRAEL, JEWISH, ON THE RIGHT

the original Jewish settlement near the river, just north of the business center of the city, out to the western city boundary. Along this path the Jewish population has displaced the earlier inhabitants, and the synagogues are frequently housed in former Christian churches. The large number of very small synagogues, often occupying squalid quarters over poor shops and sometimes situated close to one another in thoroughly competitive fashion, testify to the fragmentary character of the newer elements in the Jewish group. The large Orthodox synagogues, on the contrary, are highly organized and maintain efficient Hebrew day schools. There is one Orthodox school for the training of rabbis. The Reformed synagogues, situated in the best residential sections of the city, represent the older and more successful of the Jewish population. Some of them are extremely influential in the commercial and civic life of the city, and are closely analogous to the more liberal types of Christian organizations, both in essential thought and in forms of service.

RELIGIOUS ADHERENCE

The United States Census of Religious Bodies (1916) discloses the fact that St. Louis is more Catholic, less Protestant and decidedly less Hebrew than most of the cities of between one-half million and one million population. The ranking of seven cities which fell within this population limit in 1910 is as in Table VII.

TABLE VII — RANKING OF SEVEN CITIES OF BETWEEN ONE-HALF MILLION AND ONE MILLION POPULATION BY RELIGIOUS ADHERENCE AND PERCENTAGE OF FOREIGN-BORN

	Faiths			
Rank	*Catholic*	*Protestant*	*Hebrew*	*Foreign-Born Population (1920)*
1	Boston	Los Angeles	Boston	Boston 31.9%
2	Cleveland	Baltimore	Baltimore	Cleveland 30.1%
3	St. Louis	Pittsburgh	Cleveland	Detroit 29.1%
4	Detroit	Detroit	Detroit	Pittsburgh 20.4%
5	Pittsburgh	St. Louis	Pittsburgh	Los Angeles 19.4%
6	Baltimore	Cleveland	St. Louis	St. Louis 13.4%
7	Los Angeles	Boston	Los Angeles	Baltimore 11.4%

The relationships between Catholic strength and foreign-born populations are self-evident and in general explain the ranking of the cities. St. Louis, however, is third in Catholic constituents, which is a noticeably higher place than it would naturally be expected to occupy by reason of its foreign population. In other words, the Roman Catholic Church in St. Louis has been notably

successful. Its standing cannot be explained by the dominance of those elements of population from which elsewhere it has usually drawn its numerical strength. While it has received large accessions by immigration at different stages of the city's growth, notably from the Irish, Slavic and Southern European immigrants, the total influence of these people is much less in St. Louis than in most of the cities under consideration, while the chief single foreign stream, namely, the German, was probably somewhat more Protestant than

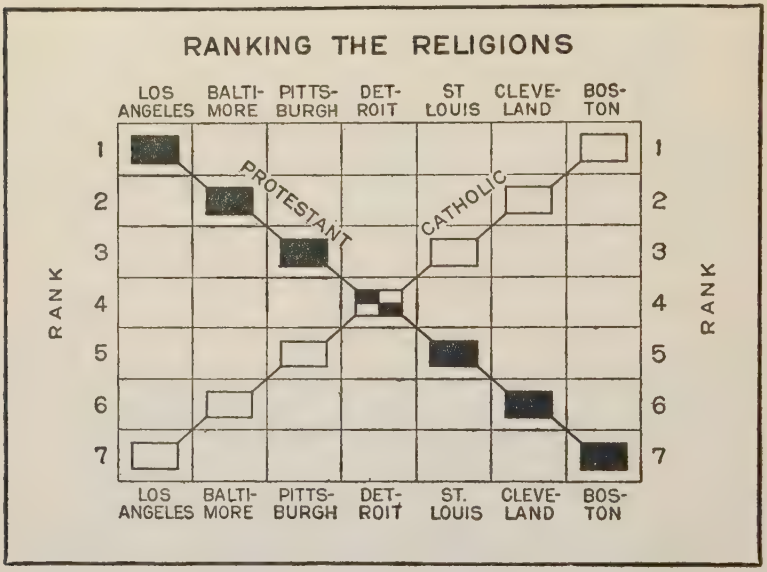


Chart 8

Catholic. The Catholic strength in St. Louis, therefore, must be due to other causes: perhaps to the early prestige of the Catholic Church, dating back to the French origins of the city; perhaps to the fact that there has been less leakage in the Catholic constituency than is the case where it is more dependent upon the foreign-born; perhaps to the two-fold division of Protestantism in St. Louis, where sectional distinctions have been added to the usual sectarian ones. At any rate the fact of more than average Catholic strength remains. It is of interest at least to note that, in the working out of two parallel religious movements, the Catholic movement seems to have succeeded better than the Protestant in building itself up with the available material.

NON-SECTARIAN RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

Organized religion, as expressed in churches and church agencies labeled as such, does not exhaust the movements which have been developed largely under religious impulse and which are led and supported in the main by the people of the Church. The Survey is out of its depth when it comes to the consideration of motive. What percentage of non-ecclesiastical humane result is due to religion and is supported by the Church, and what percentage is due to social sentiment or pure humanity (whatever such distinctions may mean) cannot be measured. The element of religion should, however, be recognized as it expresses itself in community agencies which stand in no ecclesiastical relations. These non-ecclesiastical social agencies in St. Louis number thirty-four organizations in all, and include four hospitals, three children's homes, five old people's homes, two homes for working people, one settlement, two special institutions, besides activities such as outings and fresh air farms on which more than $1,750,000 is invested and nearly $1,000,000 is spent annually. Notable among these activities are the St. Louis Provident Association, dealing with poverty and social maladjustment, the Red Cross, the Anti-Tuberculosis Association and the Urban League for the improvement of Negro conditions.

SUMMARY OF RELIGIOUS FORCES

Nearly 600,000 of the population of St. Louis are attached to organized religious faith in some tangible way. They maintain, in the names of these faiths, about 500 [7] formal religious organizations —churches, synagogues and stated places of religious work. Virtually all of these have Sunday schools or equivalent means of religious education. They operate in addition some 175 schools and about 100 charitable institutions of twelve diverse types. In this combined work they have a property investment of about $30,000,000 and they expend $6,000,000 annually in operating expenses. In addition they spend at least half a million dollars annually in non-local benevolence, for home and foreign missions and charitable education. This measures, in external bulk, the phenomena of organized religion so far as it is publicly identified as such. It constitutes an impressive total, ranking religion among the major interests of the city.

7 Exclusive of suburbs.

COLLECTIVE INFLUENCE OF THE RELIGIOUS FORCES

With the city, as part and parcel of its being, organized religion has lived through the various phases of evolution which have culminated in the St. Louis of to-day. It conquered the wilderness of the frontier; it has conserved the faith of successive waves of immigrants, when it was in danger of being lost in removals from continent to continent and region to region. It has largely held generation after generation of its own children. It has continuously acted among the more conservative and structural forces of society. Even though it has sometimes failed fully to possess the hearts of its professed adherents, still its influence in the realm of human motive and of spiritual experience has been incalculable. The worst is that somehow it has failed to include approximately one-fourth of the people of the city.

The Unchurched Population

In the Survey that population is counted as unchurched which is not adherent to any form of organized religion. First-hand contacts were made with this unchurched population by means of an extensive house-to-house canvass. The sample obtained consists of a total of 28,377 white people who classified themselves as unchurched by asserting that they neither belonged to nor attended any church, nor had they a preference for any. Preference surely bounds the final frontier of actual adherence. If one does not even prefer some church he certainly is not attached to it in any tangible sense. It may be said absolutely, therefore, that the Survey has discovered the literally unchurched, those entirely outside of either physical or psychological connection.[8]

It is needless to say that the Survey does not brand the unchurched as "unsaved" in a theological sense. It merely maintains that there is a general parallel between organized religion and inner faith. Faith expresses itself in organization but not necessarily the faith of every individual. From the standpoint of social phenomena, however, the distinction between the two classes is weighty and significant. About three-fourths of the people of the city of St. Louis are churched and about one-fourth are unchurched.

8 Even as thus defined, the boundary between the churched and the unchurched is not absolutely clear-cut. The people covered by the Survey did not always fully know their own minds. A relatively small number of cases (distributed, however, among eight out of twenty-three Survey districts and running as high as 22 per cent. in one district) declared that they had no church connection or preference and yet specifically stated that their children were in Sunday school. In the minds of these persons, evidently, such a use of the church failed to constitute a preference or any conscious personal connection with it.

Chapter III

GEOGRAPHY OF RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

Its dependence upon river traffic dictated that the early community should be pulled out into a long and narrow settlement along the river front. The first great thoroughfare to have prominence, now Broadway, was parallel to the river at the top of the bluffs. When St. Louis became an American town in 1804 there were still few houses west of Fourth Street.

The city lies nearly half enclosed by a gradual bend of the Mississippi River, which leaves an arc of only about 120 degrees for its fanlike spread toward the west.

The Geographical Growth of St. Louis

NORTH SIDE AND SOUTH SIDE

The only other radical influence of topography upon its structure is the cutting of the city into approximately equal parts by the Mill Creek valley. A gradual depression of only about one hundred feet, the valley itself was no necessary barrier to city development. But it became occupied at an early date by railroads which had also taken possession of the river front. This bisecting of the city by the valley and railroads, with their resulting belt of heavy industries, was further perpetuated by the permanent insertion of the great area of Forest Park between the two halves. The establishment of this park continued the central barrier virtually to the western city limits. So long as the city stands it will have a North Side and a South Side.

This predetermined skeleton of the city left for occupancy by population two sectors of approximately sixty degrees each between the central valley and the encircling river. After that northward and southward development which characterized the village of old St. Louis had exhausted itself, the story of the city's growth is essentially that of the gradual and unequal filling in of these two sectors.

The bisection of the city by its central valley did not prevent its essentially radial growth. St. Louis spread out fanlike from the original center. Following the period of most rapid growth between 1840 and 1850 the limits were carried west to Grand Avenue and

south to Keokuk Street. A few years before the Civil War the first high school had been erected on Fifteenth Street. Most of the churches, which had originally been established within a few blocks of the river, began to move westward. In 1870 the limits were carried south so as to include Carondelet, and in 1876 the present limits were constitutionally fixed.

The general tendency of street plan and layout reflected the fan-shaped area within which the city had to develop. "Sheer good fortune," reports the City Plan Commission, "aided perhaps by the original topography of St. Louis, is responsible for the fact that this city possesses a rudimentary system of radial streets." [1]

The original location of the settlement on the north side of the central valley and the deflection of the main valley southward gave, however, to the North Side both an initial and a permanent advantage and attached the developing "West End" to it. Later, railroads were so built that the only direction which expansion of population could take without having to cross railroad barriers was directly west. The west early became also the direction of prestige, a factor which added to the natural preponderance of the North Side.

Transportation facilities naturally adopted the radial streets as the most economical pathways for the daily movement of population to and from the center. The greater spread of population toward the west has caused the development of superior street-car service in that direction, rather than to the north or to the south; and has become in turn the cause of limiting population in other directions.

By far the greater bulk of the population lives within a distance of thirty-five minutes from the business center by street car; and population tends not to spread rapidly beyond this time zone. The City Plan Commission's studies show that a fairly simple extension and re-routing of the present system of surface cars would bring virtually the entire area of the city within a quarter of a mile from some car line.

When political boundaries were finally established, they followed the River Des Peres Valley for about one-fourth of the distance on the southwest. For the rest, the dividing lines between the city and county were entirely arbitrary: St. Louis had become, as it is to-day, roughly comprehended within a half-circle, with a radius from the original center of nearly eight miles.

The present political city occupies 39,040 acres. This puts it in the same class with Cleveland and Detroit as a roomy city for its population, in contrast with San Francisco, Pittsburgh, and Boston, which are cramped by water or mountain.

The present metropolitan area in Missouri covers about two-

1 A Major Street Plan for St. Louis, 1917, p. 4.

thirds of St. Louis County. The distribution of county population carries out still farther the general fanlike spread about the center, with more pronounced axial growth along railroad lines.

RECENT GROWTH

The largest areas of the city recently occupied by population and improvement are in the vicinity of the three major parks. In order of magnitude they are: (1) the section north and east of Forest Park extending the area developed at the time of the St. Louis Exposition and reaching beyond the city limits; (2) south of Tower Grove Park, and (3) south and northwest of Fair Grounds Park. During the last decade building of houses has been extremely patchy, the city's development consisting rather in the improvement of unoccupied lots in areas already inhabited. Relatively little building has been undertaken since the World War.

The fact of this diffused growth has made the problem of determining the sites for new churches peculiarly perplexing during the last decade. So long as new additions were built up in solid blocks it was fairly obvious where a church might go and succeed. Religious leaders have been aware that St. Louis was growing, and denominational zeal has desired to found new churches; but just where to put them has not been clear. In other words, when a city ceases to grow extensively, a more subtle analysis of conditions and needs is necessary for the successful placing of social institutions. A geography of the churches thus becomes essential to an understanding of their service in the city.

INTERNAL EBB AND FLOW OF POPULATION

The ebb and flow of population within the city is one of the major factors entering into the problem. The gain and losses in population for the last decade, as calculated by the Survey for its twenty-three survey Districts on the basis of the 1920 Census, appear on the map on the following page.

The river wards lying east of the line of Jefferson Avenue have uniformly lost or barely held their population, the aggregate loss being about 30,000. The centers of greatest gain are naturally the same as the new residential developments shown by the building maps.

It is obvious that so extensive a shifting of population must seriously have disturbed the balance between the churches and their constituencies. There is approximately one Protestant church to every 3,000 people, and since the loss of population just discussed

has been 30,000, one-third of which is Protestant, it follows that at least three churches have been rendered superfluous in their present locations and should move or go out of existence. A considerable number of removals have actually taken place. But who should move and where, and how far? How may the whole situation be

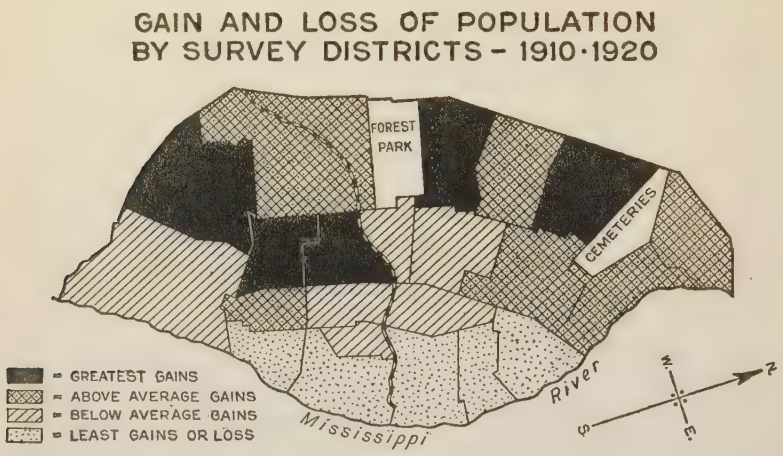


CHART 9

readjusted to the facts of population? This is being settled—as it must be under the Protestant system as so far developed—by a method of trial and error, most irrational and costly in money and in human fortunes.

CONGESTION OF POPULATION AND HOUSING

If one considers the decade as a whole, residential building has kept pace with population. There were still six and five-tenths inhabitants per dwelling in 1920, just as there were in 1910. Since, however, the growth of the city has not been accompanied by the settling of new areas of large extent, the striking transfer of population from the river wards has resulted in creating new centers of congestion. The evicted population being mostly of a low economic grade, these people have largely been passed into the already demoralized central districts, which, although showing generally slow growth, have gained enough new population to make them the chief areas of unwholesome crowding. It is, nevertheless, the unanimous opinion of social and religious workers consulted by the Survey that the people left in the river wards are even more crowded than they were before. In other words, the space vacated by the 30,000 who

left these wards did not equal the space seized upon by expanding industry.

Naturally the most mobile elements in the entire population are those unmarried and detached individuals, free to change habitations on the slightest pressure, economic or psychological. Teeming rooming- and boarding-houses receive and discharge the continuous procession of these comers and goers. They are the flotsam of the city, the despair of the Church.

RATE OF CHANGE IN POPULATION

Home ownership is nowhere the good fortune of more than 10 per cent. of St. Louis' people and is so scattered that it does not greatly influence the rate of change in population anywhere. The variations in rate of change depend rather upon manifold combinations of the influences outlined above.

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION AND OF CHURCHES

Besides such recent mass changes and the creating of such new centers of acute congestion, the general outcome of the city's unequal growth has been to land nearly half its people (46 per cent.) in a little more than one-fourth of its area; specifically, in its older settled portion lying east of Grand Avenue and north of the lower end of Osceola Street. More than half of the foreign-born population (55 per cent.) will be found here.

Now, the total distribution of churches in St. Louis corresponds remarkably to the distribution of population. The 505 church buildings and places of regular religious worship enumerated by the Survey represent the several faiths as follows:

Faith		*No. of Churches*
Protestant		387
White	285	
Negro	102	
Catholic		93
Roman Catholic	89	
Other Catholic	4	
Hebrew		25
Orthodox	21	
Reformed	4	
Total		505

Fifty-one per cent. of these churches are situated below and 49 per cent. above Grand Avenue, which gives to the older and

poorer portion of the city a slight advantage in number of religious institutions.

The Roman Catholic churches are situated in almost equal numbers on either side of Grand Avenue, and their reported adherents are distributed in almost exact proportion to population.

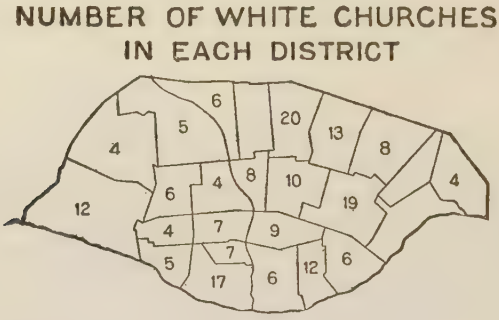


CHART 10

How Protestantism covers the city.

The Protestant churches are also very equally divided. One hundred-ninety of them are below Grand Avenue while 187 are above. In their locations, however, the different kinds of Protestant churches show striking variations, as indicated by the following table:

TABLE VIII—LOCATION OF PROTESTANT CHURCHES WITH RELATION TO GRAND AVENUE

	Below		*Above*	
	Number of Churches	*Per cent.*	*Number of Churches*	*Per cent.*
Churches of 19 denominations co-operating in the Church Federation	73	37.0	123	63.0
Churches of 26 other denominations and sects	43	58.0	31	42.0
Churches of Negro denominations.	74	69.0	33	31.0

Of the Protestant churches having fewer than 100 members each, 62 per cent. are below Grand Avenue and 38 per cent. are above.

This showing means that the older, better organized and more conventional Protestant organizations have disproportionately taken themselves to the less congested and more desirable parts of the city, leaving the heavy end of the work below Grand Avenue to that irregular type of church which a witty New Yorker has called the "bootleg religions," or else to the Negroes. While, there-

fore, the distribution of Protestant churches is quantitatively equal it is qualitatively very unequal. The contrast between the churches on either side of Grand Avenue in size and wealth is very striking.

SUBURBAN CHURCHES AND POPULATION

The study of suburban churches relative to suburban population shows that the westward movement along radial paths has landed 9 per cent. of the population of the Metropolitan District in Missouri outside the political boundaries of the city. Transportation facilities have limited and will probably continue to limit excessive growth at this circumference. There are at present sixty white and seventeen Negro Protestant churches on the Missouri side serving the 77,895 people living under urban conditions outside the city limits. In other words, there is one Protestant church for each 1,300 people, or more than twice as many as the average for the city and almost twice as many as there are for the city's most favored population west of Grand Avenue. From the standpoint of actual and effective religious service so large a number of churches in the suburbs is not warranted. Neither present population nor prospective growth demands them. Depending as they do upon transportation, the future concentrations of suburban population cannot be fully foreseen. That a very large element of risk is involved in the planting of the suburban churches is seen in the fact that several denominations have suffered heavy loss of organizations as a penalty for misjudgment in this field.

The suburbs illustrate the usual method by which a church occupies its territory. As new population comes in at the edges of the city some denomination starts a Sunday school which develops into a regular place of religious services and finally into a formal church organization. Most of the Protestant churches of St. Louis got where they now are in accordance with this process.

A significant number, however, including some of the oldest and most influential have reached their present sites as the result of a series of removals following upon large movements of population. They almost merit the appellation "migratory churches."

The Mobility of Religious Constituencies

EFFECT UPON THE CHURCH OF SHIFTING POPULATION

The experiences of these migrating churches are profoundly revealing of many of the most perplexing phases of urban society. They explain some of the most crucial issues of Protestant policy

in its religious attack upon the modern city. It has been worth while, therefore, for the Survey to give close attention to the processes which lie behind this fact, that many of the most conspicuous Protestant churches have moved from place to place.

All the institutions of a city necessarily feel the strain of rapid changes in population, whether the changes are measured in gains or losses or are caused by the shifting of population elements from place to place within the city itself. Institutions serving mankind for profit suffer equally with those whose service is public or philanthropic. Business concerns, schools, public buildings, hotels, theaters, find their clienteles rapidly changing. An excessive degree or excessive rate of change forces upon them the question of change of location. Thus they continuously respond to the ebb and flow of population.

MOBILITY OF FAMILIES

Along with such mass movements of population as that which lifted 30,000 people from one side of Jefferson Avenue to the other between 1910 and 1920, goes on the ebb and flow of individual family movement. This is based primarily upon changing economic fortunes. In St. Louis, promotion or increase of wages means a movement to the west. Failure in business or unemployment means a movement to the east. A middle-class family living halfway to the earthly paradise of the West End finds its fortunes suddenly improved and moves out a mile farther. This leaves room for some thrifty family from the thickly settled Jewish quarter. Its coming, in turn, disturbs the neighborhood and starts an exodus of those who cannot yet really afford to move—away from the newcomer regarded as an undesirable. This exodus tends to depreciate property and affords opportunity to the other families of the crowded wards, who otherwise would not yet have been able to move westward. Any nationality or group which is regarded as undesirable thus accidentally throws out pioneers in the persons of the most successful of their kind, who, by being undesirable neighbors, make effective room for the later comers. Race prejudice has naturally made the Negro the most efficient exemplar of this principle, and the most feared.

Besides the shiftings of populations which have economic motives, or in which economic and deep psychological forces mingle, there are those which are purely the expression of restlessness and imitation. Seeing so many other people moving because they are subject to one or another of the types of pressure, large numbers of people not subject to any pressure move also, apparently just for

the sake of moving. City population goes, therefore, milling around within any given area. Urban civilization has developed a hobo strain. These eddies are subordinate to the main stream of directional movement. They are mainly internal changes, not necessarily taking families out of their present social levels, but sufficient to break up intimate neighborhood acquaintanceships and preventing the establishment of beaten social paths.

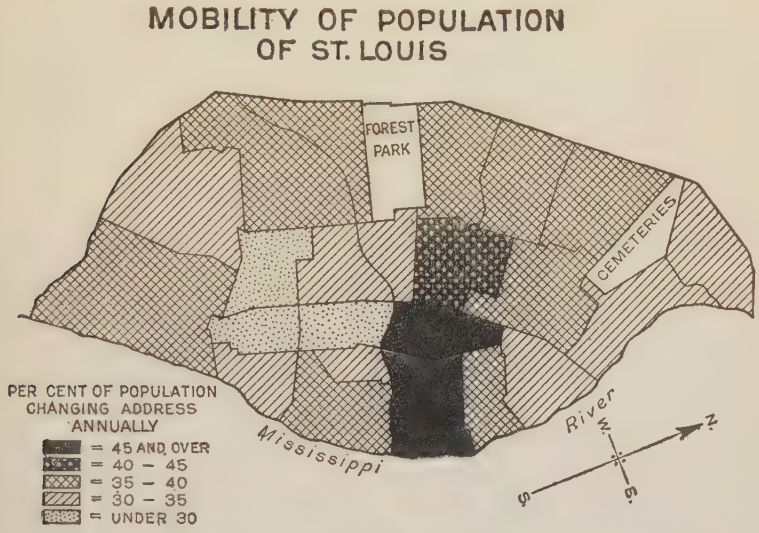


CHART 11

The geography of the present movement of population in St. Louis is indicated in the accompanying map in which the districts are classified into five groups according to rates of shifting of population. No district shows less than 25 per cent. of change annually, and in the most unstable districts the rate is more than 50 per cent. These extremely rapid changes of population in the central districts, as shown by the map, are largely due to the milling around of boarding- and rooming-house populations added to the economic changes that befall dwellers in tenement houses. The Survey, however, concerned itself only with householders, and did not measure the immensely greater ebb and flow of single and detached individuals. The stability of the less changeful districts is a result partly of racial inertia and partly of the detachment of these districts from the main westward movement of population.

To the results outlined the various factors of change contribute unequally in the various parts of the city. The changes in the

West End, for example, are above average in number, but are more likely to be due to prosperity or to imitation than to necessity, thus contrasting sharply with the physical displacement of population by industry in the river wards.

The rapidity with which the population changes has, however, less to do with the migrations of the Protestant churches than has the character of the people who come and go.

The substitution of industry for people over large areas almost always implies also the substitution of one type of population for another, so far as any population remains at all. The church does not merely lose members proportionately to the net loss of population. Quite beyond that, it may find practically all of its sort of people gone, while new and unfamiliar faces take their place.

CIRCULATION OF POPULATION

In the growth of cities newcoming population does not in the main occupy the circumference of urban development. It does not begin to build houses where the older population left off. Rather it tends to occupy the center, thus pushing out the older inhabitants toward the edges of the city. The chief reason is that the main body of all city populations is poor, and the expansions of cities are first of all industrial expansions. These new, poor, industrial populations filter into habitations abandoned by their predecessors and left stranded in the grasp of industry. They fill the nooks and crannies among its factories, railways and wholesale establishments. Such tenement districts are continuously renewed in population by the latest comers to the city, whether of foreign birth or of American rural stock.

THE RETREAT OF THE "NICE PEOPLE"

The more desirable residential districts, on the contrary, progressively detach themselves from the expanding industrial and business areas. Whenever the growth of the city requires more room for factories and stores the people who are able to do so put distance between their homes and these undesirable encroachments, leaving their old habitations to be filled in by the enlarging army of poor workers whom the growing industries demand. The best residential sections keep farthest removed from the business and industrial centers, since their population can afford the time and cost of transportation; or else they are sheltered behind legal fortifications called "restricted territory." This process is continuous in growing cities. Residential property is always being invaded more or less rapidly by industry and business, and the old houses of the well-

to-do are being turned over, in progressive stages of disrepair, for the occupancy of the poor. The human débris of city-building thus always lies in the most conspicuous paths of its progress. The poorest of a city's people tend to live within the shadow of the proudest of its enterprises. This truth is illustrated to an exceptional degree in St. Louis.

PATHS OF DISPERSAL

The present distribution of population in St. Louis is eloquent evidence of the process described. Following every new wave of population congesting the old centers, successive dispersions have gone forth. Germans have followed Irish; Poles, Germans; and

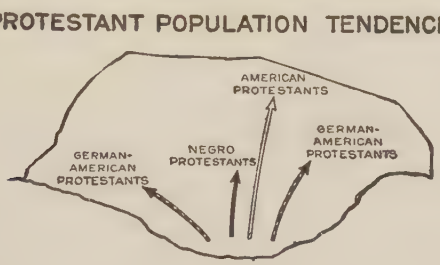


CHART 12

The various Protestant elements have moved out from the old city center in definite paths carrying their churches with them.

Jews, Poles,—the last-coming Italian being finally left in principal possession of the field. This is the story of the North Side, and precisely similar successions of Teutonic and Slavic waves have marked also the development of the South Side.

EMIGRANT PATHS

The paths which the various populations take in their progress from their common but successively occupied centers toward the circumference of the city are strikingly marked.

As indicated by the group of accompanying maps showing the present location of the main types of population, the Negro now occupies the Mill Creek Valley and a relatively narrow strip on either side, up which he has moved from the river front. He now shows a tendency of dispersion to the northwest.

The foreign-born population is mostly located in the river wards on either side of the Negro concentration.

The German foreign-born population, reënforcing the older Teu-

tonic stock, is located still farther out than the main foreign group, flanking it on the north and south respectively.

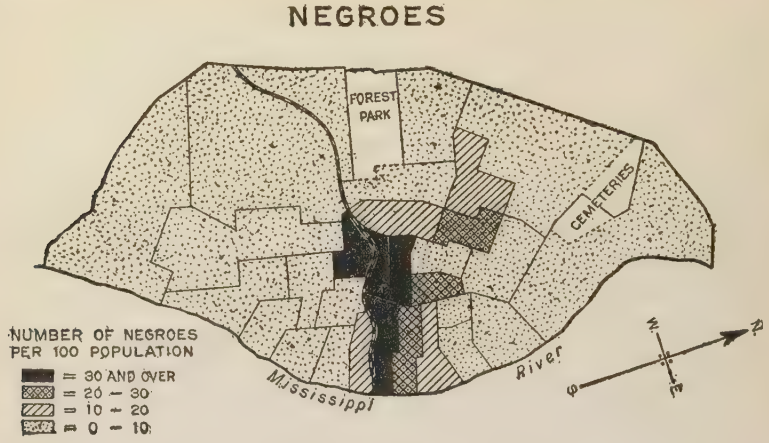


CHART 13

Distribution of Negro population by wards, 1920.

Finally the native-born population of foreign antecedents (within which the German-American element is by far the largest) has dispersed from its original north and south side centers along

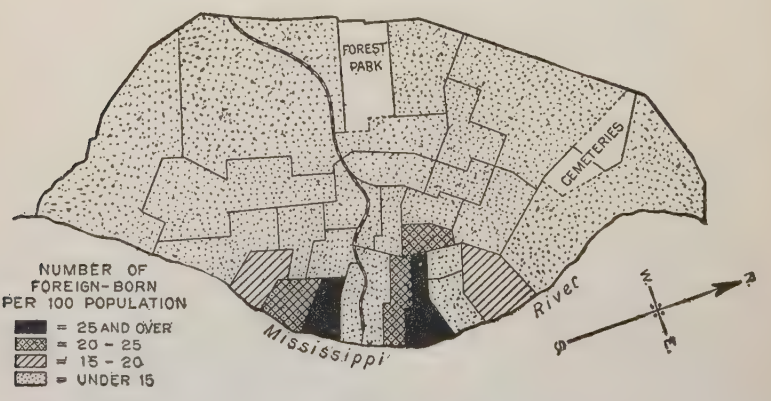


CHART 14

Distribution of foreign-born population by wards, 1920.

broad sectors to the northwest and southwest, avoiding the main expansion of American population which has been directly westward.

THIRD BUILDING OF THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH NOW GAYETY THEATRE

FOURTH AND PRESENT BUILDING

Abandoned by Family Church of one Denomination, it remains as a Social Center for another

Once a Church now a trade Union Hall and grocery store

One of a dozen Great Churches of Yesterday now sold to Negro Congregations

Union M. E. Church, Formerly First Congregational

Once a Church now a synagogue—a frequent fate

FIVE SECOND HAND CHURCHES

Still more intimate geographical analysis would reveal that a narrow sector of Jewish population has thrust itself between the

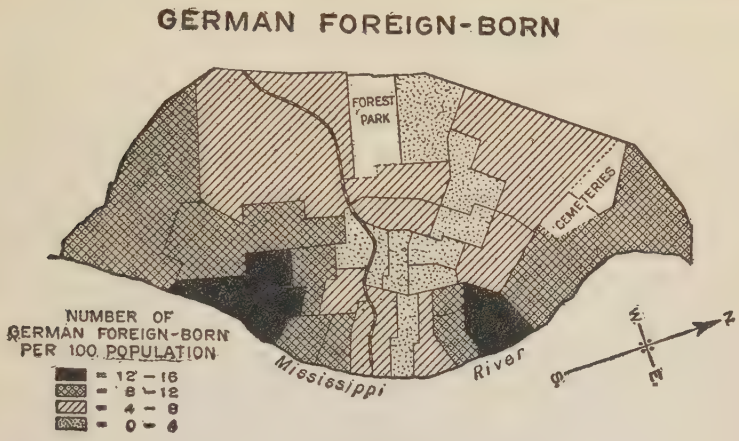


CHART 15

Distribution of German-born population by wards, 1920.

westward American movement and the northwestern German movement from the river front straight up to the city limits having Easton Avenue as its main axis.

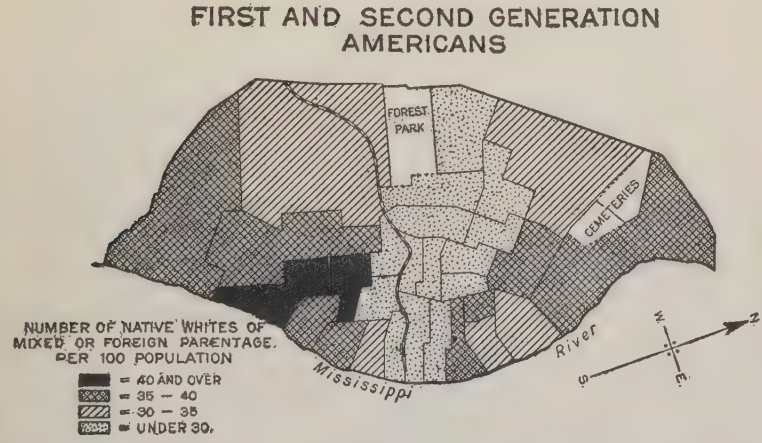


CHART 16

Distribution of population of foreign and mixed parentage by wards, 1920.

The Slavic population has spread over a narrower sector comprehended within the German sector from its original South Side center, in a southwesterly direction. These bands of population,

broader or narrower, overlapping to some extent, yet fairly distinct, have arranged themselves in a clearly defined order within the half circle of the general growth of St. Louis. The churches and peculiar social institutions of each group are located accordingly.

The Italian population constitutes an exception to the above principle. It has leaped directly from its first and still largest "downtown" center to another on "Dago Hill" far toward the southwestern part of the city, without filling in the intermediate territory.

SHIFTING OF NEGRO POPULATION

The Negro population also follows less distinctly the sector-type of distribution, being rather the "fill-in" population in all the less desirable parts of the city. Its movement from east to west, however, follows in general the common directional tendency.

No single population illustrates so well the principle of mass shifting as the Negro. After the American population had set the example and the westward movement had set in strongly, the older Negro population virtually lifted itself bodily from the east to the west side of Jefferson Avenue, making way for more recent Negro immigrants. This movement has gone on during two decades, but reached its culmination during the last ten years. Amazing evidence of this is found in public school statistics. There are more Negro school children in St. Louis who were born outside of the city than were born in it. In the school districts west of Grand Avenue, however, two out of every three Negro children were born *in* St. Louis, while in the districts east of Grand Avenue two out of every three children were born *out* of St. Louis. Here is complete demonstration of the substitution of the newer Negro population for the older in the eastern and river wards of the city.

While these shiftings of population are of economic origin, they also take on profound psychological significance. Prestige, as has been noticed, became attached to the westward movement. It carried population in that direction faster and farther than economic pressure alone would have done. The west became the direction of prosperity. The significance of this factor will appear more fully in connection with the study of institutions.

FRAGMENTS AND REMAINDERS

The substitution of one population for another, as above described, is, however, neither absolute nor complete. Thus, the Italian district, roughly bounded by Broadway, Franklin, Cass and Tenth Streets, has successive strata of Hebrew, Polish and German people—down to the original Irish population, and there is everywhere an infiltration of Negroes. A typically "Polish" district was

found to be really divided as follows: Polish, 34 per cent.; Jewish, including many Polish Jews, 37 per cent.; Irish, Germans and a few Italians and Russians, 26 per cent.; others, 3 per cent. How to serve these fragments of old population when change has swept away most of the characteristics of their old environment is one of the main problems of human strategy and service through the Church and philanthropic institutions. Again and again in areas which were thought to have been swept clear of a given population, the Survey has discovered a very large minority left. This is particularly true of the American white population in districts which appear to be solidly Negro or foreign-born. In but one Survey dis-

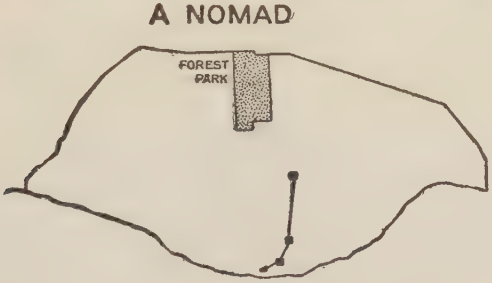


CHART 17

Successive locations of the First Presbyterian Church.

trict in the city was the American white population found to be actually in the minority. In effect, however, these left-over populations, existing as they do in scattered groups without mutual cohesion, are mere fragmentary remains, and as such their case is well-nigh hopeless. Not until they are rebuilt into the present neighborhood relations can there be any real civic or moral opportunity for them.

Migrant Churches

The process described above has been sweeping one Protestant church after another from location to relocation for more than half a century. Thus, the First Presbyterian Church erected its first building in 1827 at the foot of Market Street, close to the river and the levees. Soon after St. Louis' boom period in the decade ending with 1850, it moved four blocks uptown. As the city grew, the descendants of the early American settlers moved westward, separating themselves from incoming foreign groups. The First Presbyterian Church responded to the westward pull and moved, in 1890, to the site on Locust and Fourteenth Street. By 1912 the block on Locust and Fourteenth Street was submerged in the busi-

ness district. The church, accordingly, erected its fourth building at Sarah and Washington Streets, where it now stands, and where already its permanence is menaced anew by Negro migration into the district. The length of each of these three migrations reflects the accelerating expansion of the city. In 1850 the church moved four blocks, in 1890 twelve blocks and in 1912 nearly two and one-half miles.[2]

Sixty-nine migrations similar to that of the First Presbyterian Church have been studied by the Survey for the period of 1871-1921. All of them, whatever their conscious motive, were carried along

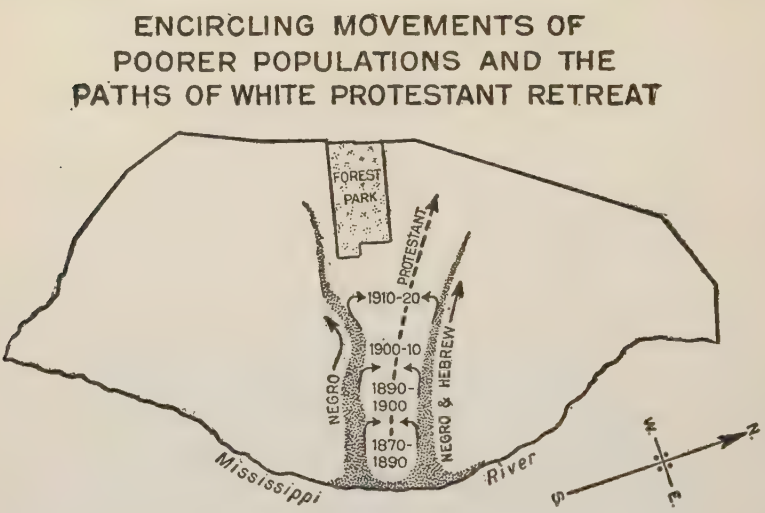


CHART 18

Parallel westward movements of Negroes and Hebrews have been evicting white Protestant populations from the center of the city for fifty years.

on a general tide that bore westward the kind of population to which the older Protestant churches were accustomed. Up to 1870, the churches moved short distances in the river districts. During the period from 1870 to 1890 occurred the virtual abandonment of the "downtown" section by the English-speaking churches. Decade by decade the "nice people" living in the American sector between the parallel western movements of Negroes and Jews felt the jaws of a trap closing in upon them. District by district these supposed undesirables, the one moving up the Mill Creek Valley, the other along the axis of Cass and Easton Avenues, overflowed toward each other until they met farther and farther from the center. The older populations fought a continually losing battle against the invasion and often moved their institutions barely in

[2] The old building abandoned in 1912 became the Gaiety Burlesque Theatre!

time to escape the encircling movement. Between 1910 and 1920, the struggle had shifted west of Grand Avenue, and to-day the Protestant churches are menaced by population changes as far west as Kingshighway Boulevard.

All denominations shared in this retreat from the older sections. By reason of their parish traditions, the Protestant Episcopal churches remained a little longer than the rest in company with those of German origin.

The amazing degree to which the removals of Protestant churches followed a beaten path is indicated in the accompanying diagram. That they should have moved as population moved was, in the main, inevitable; but that they should so largely have moved westward, in the direction of prestige and advantage to themselves,

THE WELL-WORN WESTERN TRAIL

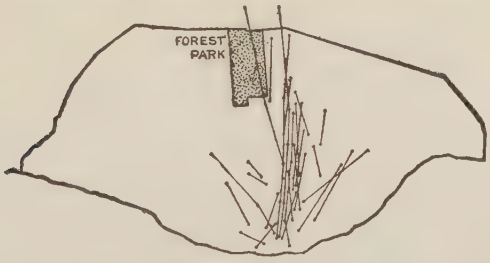


CHART 19

Migrating St. Louis churches have largely followed a common pathway toward the prosperous West End.

showed total lack of constructive policy and the effective will to serve all of the city equally. New church organizations, as has been shown, sprang up to evangelize other sections of the city, but they lacked the momentum and influence of this main historic movement, and made a permanent qualitative difference in the churching of the city.

As a net result of these migrations within the American sector, thirty-one churches moved out of the three districts below Grand Avenue and nineteen churches moved into the three districts immediately west of it.

DISTRICT XIV

How lacking these migrations have been in any well-defined or previsioned plan becomes apparent when one analyzes what happened in a single district (Survey District XIV). The accompanying diagram shows that as a net result of the sixteen migrations into and out of its boundaries this district actually lost two churches.

While it gained three churches prior to 1890, it has merely held its own or lost since then and its acquisition of three churches in the last decade is more than balanced by its loss of four. It looks as though the churches had responded very automatically to the

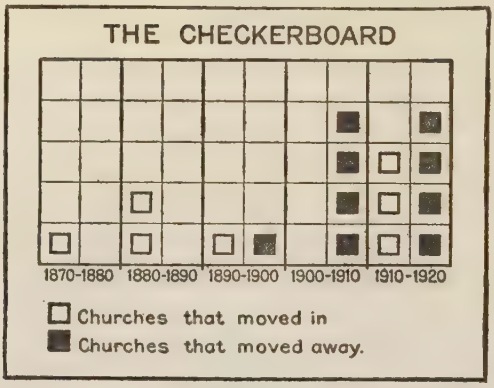


CHART 20

Removals of white Protestant churches to and from District XIV by decades since 1870.

suction of population and that in District XIV, at least, the migrations had resulted largely in waste motion. The real explanation is the non-interchangeability of Protestant institutions discussed in Chapter I.

THE WHY, HOW AND WHERE OF CHURCH REMOVALS

A more intensive study of motive, result and exact process of church migration was undertaken by means of a schedule and was answered in some part for forty churches which had removed from their former locations. To the following questions answers were received which show certain significant tendencies:

WHAT DETERMINED THE ORIGINAL SITE OF THE CHURCH?

Question	*Number Reporting*	*Per cent. Affirmative*
Concentration of Church Membership?	28	100.0
Composition of Community?	19	100.0
Value of Land?	13	23.0

These are the expected answers; churches are built where their members are and if possible in a good neighborhood. In only a few instances throughout the entire Survey have cases been found where the site of a church was chosen on account of a property bargain.

WHAT DETERMINED THE CHANGE OF SITE?

Question	*Number Reporting*	*Per cent. Affirmative*
Opportunity for Improvement or Enlargement of Plant?	29	96.5
Advantage of Following Constituency?	28	82.1
Invasion of Previous Neighborhood by Negroes?	22	68.2
Invasion of Previous Neighborhood by Foreign-Born?	22	63.6
Invasion of Previous Neighborhood by Business	23	60.9
Decrease of Population?	22	45.4
Church in Debt?	26	7.7

The above constitute probably a fair array of considerations which actually influence church removals. They are not, of course, mutually exclusive. The original removal of constituency which

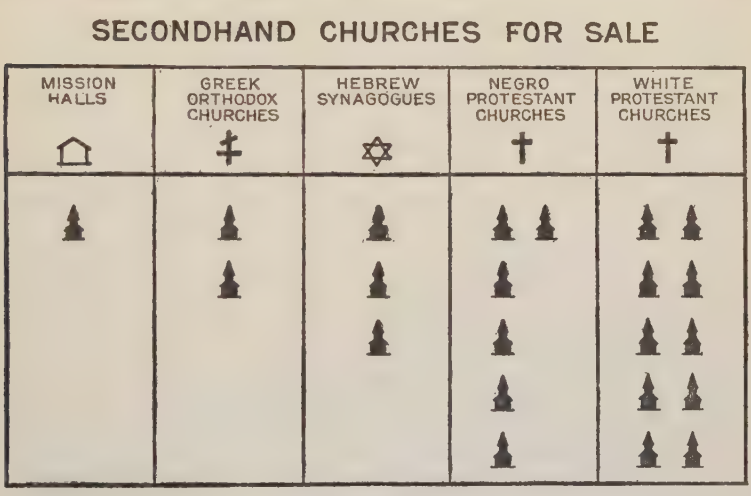


CHART 21

Church buildings abandoned by retreating Protestant congregations have usually gone into the hands of some other religious organization.

it is thought necessary for the church to follow was frequently owing to the invasion of people or business thought undesirable. Although the desire for better church plants is given as the reason for removal in more cases than anything else, it is evident that such a desire might frequently have been satisfied on the original site of the church except for some of the other considerations enumerated.

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN THE CHURCH GOES?

How far the churches that move feel a sense of responsibility for the area abandoned was not thoroughly discovered by the

Survey. In answer to the question, "How adequate was the abandoned neighborhood provided for by remaining churches?" sixteen churches said, "amply"; sixteen said, "sufficiently"; and nine admitted that it was insufficiently provided for. No direct evidence was furnished as to steps taken to supply an equivalent for the departing church, though in certain cases missions were left. The disposal of old property furnishes, however, evidence that there was generally a succession of religious forces. When a given church or group of churches left a neighborhood other churches came in to occupy the property. Twenty-two of the thirty-six church properties reported sold in connection with the migrations under consideration were sold to other denominations, including four sold to Jewish congregations, six to Negro churches, one to a Greek Orthodox denomination and one to an unclassified religious mission. Of the five properties reported as not sold to other denominations one was acquired by the Board of Education and one turned into a residence.

In thirty-eight cases proceeds of the sale of property were invested in the building on the new site, but in three cases part of this money was used in the payment of debt. In no case was it applied to endowment or other form of investment.

WHAT DETERMINED THE NEW SITE?

Question	*Number Reporting*	*Per cent. Affirmative*
Composition of New Community?	28	100.0
Location of Church Membership?	23	95.7
Facilities for Transportation?	23	95.7

(In addition to these there were four cases of mergers with other churches.)

The same factors naturally appear as in the determination of original site, with the additional factor of transportation. The last occurs because the church which has moved must now make it possible for members who are not advantageously placed with reference to the new site to reach it. The scattering of members from the original neighborhood was a matter of individual responsibility, but in selecting a new site for the church an effort must be made to meet as nearly as possible the convenience of all.

The sense of responsibility for the new neighborhood to be entered by the migrating churches is suggested by the following: Three declared that the new neighborhood was amply churched, seventeen that it was sufficiently churched and twenty-three that it was insufficiently churched. What adjustment was considered or proposed, and what justification was found by churches for moving into territory already well taken care of did not appear in the

investigation. In recent years such removals have had at least the nominal approval of the Commission on Comity of the Church Federation.

The gains of removal were reported as follows:

Gain	*Cases*
Better Church Property	35
Better Environment	36
Larger Potential Membership	29
Nearness to Membership	21

The question of possible losses was tabulated under the following heads:

Losses	*Number Reporting*	*Per cent. Affirmative*
Tradition Developed Around Old Site	20	35.0
Membership	18	22.2
Transient Attendance	12	8.3

This showing does not appear to constitute a really significant facing of losses by the churches concerned. The small number of cases in which the question of losses is answered possibly suggests a slight inclination to dodge that issue. Each church doubtless satisfies itself on general grounds that the move was on the whole well advised. This point of view is perhaps practically justifiable but is not fully scientific and does not show a total sense of institutional responsibility either for the localities or for the people involved. The issues were really too serious to have been settled with as little information and sense of responsibility as the churches showed in meeting them.

The question as to distance removed in each case was frequently answered in terms of blocks of varying length. The following classification has been attempted and should stand as fairly accurate:

	Number	*Per cent.*
Within the Same District	17	42.5
To Adjoining Districts	4	10.0
To Other Parts of the City	19	47.5
Total	40	100.0

Of the removals within the same district eleven appear to have been within a quarter of a mile and may be taken as occurring in the same neighborhood. The extreme cases are four churches moving from three to four miles, one moving eight miles, and two from six to eight miles.

WHAT MOBILITY HAS MEANT TO THE CHURCH

Viewing the whole spectacle of the shiftings of population and the migration of Protestant churches since the growth characteristic of cities began in St. Louis, one is led to the conclusion that on the whole these changes of locality have brought under the influence of the churches the maximum of Protestant material of the kind to which the particular churches are accustomed to appeal. What the churches as a group have been after is Protestant people *of their own sort*. These have been sought both as converts and as supporters. The churches have been habitually seeking the easier way, —albeit the only practical way so long as single parishes were left to work out their own social and financial fortunes unaided and

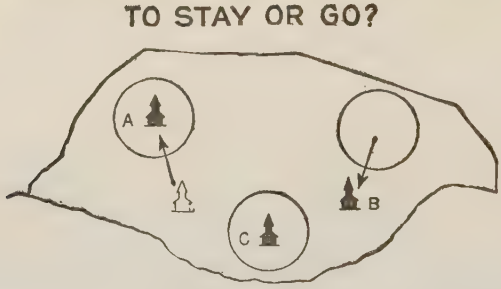


CHART 22

The three alternatives before a church which has lost its old constituency by removal are (a) to move after it, (b) to try to continue to draw it from a great distance, or, (c) to stay and build up a new constituency out of the vicinity.

without direction. So long as there was no city-wide plan of Protestant strategy and religious occupancy, the expedient of following the crowd has brought frequent success to the Church's enterprise, but also it has brought failure and loss often concealed and never fairly confessed.

Besides the tragical permanent losses of members from the Church and the frequently fatal weakening and final death of individual churches, there are losses of strength to the city at large even where removal appears to be successful. The present general location of the regularly organized Protestant churches and constituency is largely in the more prosperous and wealthy districts. This in itself subtracts from their city-wide moral and social ascendancy and from their place in popular respect.

Finally, rapid and relentless change, such as the modern city everywhere suffers, is a barrier to the Church's deepest and most fundamental religious service to the people, in that it breaks into friendships and prevents habits of neighborly coöperation and the

sense of community responsibility. These are tender plants, frequently of slow growth. A large percentage of changes are doubtless advantageous in many of their aspects, representing a going-up in the world. But nothing can take the place of adequate time for the development of social and religious ties and the religious and cultural values based upon intimate fellowships.

Protestantism has habitually sought institutional advantage by change. Historically speaking the chief clew to its story is that it has followed the more desirable population from place to place. On that basis it has largely succeeded. But is this success? Was it the thing to do? Catholicism, on the other hand, with its fundamental idea of the geographical parish, stays by the people who have to stay and provides definitely for whatever new people enter a given area.

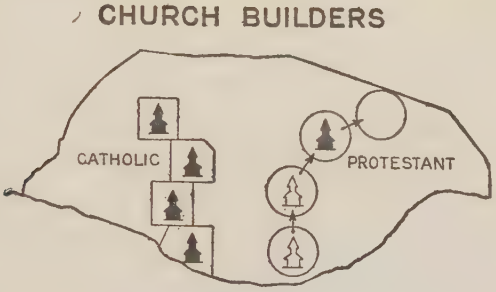
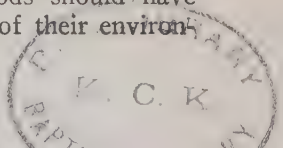


CHART 23

Who knows where a Protestant church will be located ten years from now?

The working out of these strikingly contrasting policies has had no little share in fixing the zones and levels of social advantage and disadvantage which hold the fortunes of different elements of St. Louis' people in such glaring contrasts.

Protestantism up to date has no method of effective planning for, nor of adequately financing churches through periods of strain and transition by reason of shifts in population, nor of supporting them for permanent service in regions of permanent disadvantage. Some of the denominations do better than others, but all together do not do nearly well enough in these respects. Yet the obvious test of the success of the church as a social factor in the making of a city is its ability to meet the essential urban factor of change and to equalize religious opportunity for the entire people. Economic handicaps should be no barrier to the most adequate religious ministries to all the people, while effective religious organization permanently related to localities and neighborhoods should have definite and even controlling influence upon many of their environmental fortunes.



Chapter IV

GEOGRAPHY OF SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS FORTUNES

While the circular movement of population—complicated by numerous eddies and cross-currents—was continuously pushing out from the center of St. Louis along radial lines, and while churches were playing checkers with themselves in the effort to keep up with desirable constituencies, the only thing that forced a semblance of method into the madness of changing conditions was the predetermined skeleton of the city based on physiography. The wealthier and more fortunate of the people kept moving as far as possible from the lowland occupied by increasing industry, while the poorer and less fortunate who came were forced by necessity to live between railroad tracks and under the shadow of factories.

Even this sorting of population was seriously modified by the wide diffusion of new industry during the decade preceding 1920. Such diffusion was made possible by the fact that motor truck development freed lighter manufacturing from dependence upon immediate railroad connections. This new freedom marked havoc in a city of diversified industry such as St. Louis. Sixty-two and one-half per cent. of the industries established during this period were located without rail connections. Such new mobility of industries greatly increased the mobility of population.

The diffusion of industry throughout the city had also a serious and cumulative effect upon the quality and value of large residential areas and pulled down the character of many promising parts of the city. The locations of many formerly strategic churches became undesirable even when the constituencies of these churches had not been wholly drawn or driven away.

STABILIZATION

To prevent further demoralization through planless industrial expansion, and still to allow a logical and progressive development of the city with justice to all interests, a comprehensive zoning ordinance was adopted by the city in May, 1918, defining the uses to which its entire area may be put. It builds upon the general evolution of the city as determined by topography and lines of transportation. It perpetuates the primary regional distinctions of North Side, South Side and West End.

The two major residential lobes of the city, as established by the ordinance, occupy the high ground on the North and the South Sides respectively: The radial system of major streets which serves them provides conveniently for retail business; while the river front and central valley alone, with narrower strips along connecting railways, are devoted to industry. Further classifications divide the industrial areas between the lighter and heavier industries. Part of

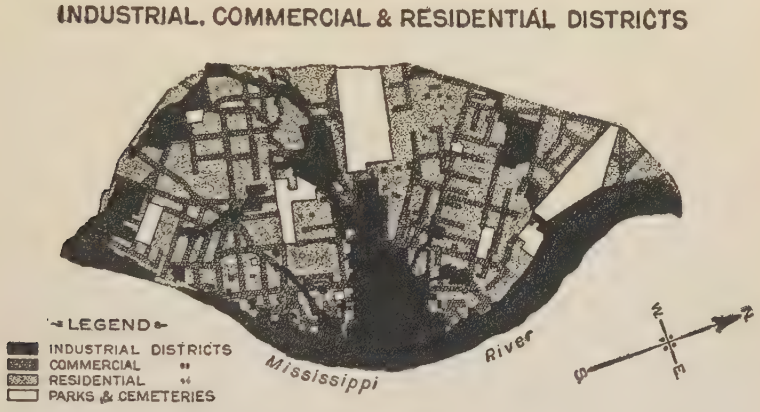


CHART 24

The zoning of St. Louis (adapted from map of the City Plan Commission).

the residential space is restricted to the more expensive type of single family residences.

St. Louis has thus initiated the era of conscious city-planning. It must be pointed out, however, that while industry can no longer move into residential zones people need not move out of industrial zones. Approximately one-third of the population of the city still lives within areas devoted to industrial use. These are the characteristic residential areas of the poor. While a large proportion will gradually be evicted and forced to find habitations elsewhere, there are likely to be many left even if the legal limits of industry are never changed. The churches of these unprotected areas will be facing still more perplexing problems of adjustment to population changes which they must meet either by removal or consolidation.

AREAS OF UNCERTAINTY

In contrast to that of the political city, the future physical development of the metropolitan district can be predicted only in

part.[1] The city covers actually only about one-fourth of this area. The outlying portions of the city proper will gradually fill in with the expansion of transportation facilities and the development of new residential districts depending upon drainage projects, particularly in the River Des Peres Valley.

A form of government for the country districts more suited to their suburban character is one of the possibilities of the revision of the Missouri constitution now under way; and this involves the still further possibility of legalized suburban planning. Manifestly all churches and all constructive agencies of civilization are interested in the radical control of city and suburban development from the standpoint of health, beauty, human convenience and welfare, and must develop all future plans accordingly.

Coming at the outset of the new era of legal stabilization and foresight, when reason has for the first time the means of measurably controlling the future, the Survey is most timely. It summarizes the total result both of the social and of the religious processes which have made the city what she is to-day, and does this at the very moment when it is doubly possible to do something definite for the future.

Social Geography

Probably the most original contribution of the Survey to the city in the strictly social field is that of having definitely localized existing social information and made specific application of it to the several areas of the city in which it has a chance to be used locally.[2] It brings knowledge home to the subdivisions within which people are accustomed to coöperate and makes it available as a basis for both church and neighborhood progress.

THE ELEVEN CRITERIA

Eleven basic social criteria [3] on which information was available were systematically applied to the district areas. These criteria were:

1 City-planning as yet reaches no part of the suburban population. The Missouri residential suburbs are menaced at many points by unrestricted industries and suffer from general planless development; while the Illinois suburbs are in a large measure a mere incoherent attachment of human habitations to industries devised with a minimum of civic foresight.

2 The districts were originally chosen by the Church Federation as the units of the household canvass; that is, they were units of information. The district boundaries were fixed, however, on practical grounds with view to making them also units of coöperation. See Chap. VIII, p. 146.

3 The choice of this particular list was determined entirely by data available for comparative use. It was recognized that the criteria were of unequal weight and no effort was made to rank them for relative importance.

1. Proportion of foreign-born population
2. Proportion of Negro population
3. Congestion of population
4. Gain and loss of population
5. Degree of industrialization
6. Degree of home ownership
7. Infant mortality
8. Juvenile delinquency
9. Illiteracy
10. Poverty
11. Tuberculosis mortality

The relative standing of each district with respect to each of the eleven criteria and its rank on the combined weight of all of them is shown, with methods of calculations in detail, in the Appendix.[4]

The somewhat surprising result is that the South Side territory just south and southwest of Tower Grove Park (District XI) ranks slightly higher than the famous West End which is commonly judged the most desirable part of the city and toward which the main population movement has proceeded.

At the other end of the scale is District III, the downtown section which includes the site of the original settlement of St. Louis and the main wholesale and retail business district of the present day, with many of its largest industries and its most varied and congested foreign population. This is undeniably the worst district in the city on all of the eleven points considered.

The outstanding result of this district comparison is to reenforce the commonplace observation that social ills tend to coincide in the same areas. The gathering vultures of misfortune "come not singly." The most handicapped tend to have all the handicaps at once.

The same tendency governs the areas of good fortune, though not quite to the same degree. Advantages also coincide in favored spots.

The largest areas, however, and the majority of people lie between the extremes of fortune. They vary on either side of the average as upper or lower middle class, the latter term including the skilled industrial workers and the small tradesmen.

ZONES OF SOCIAL ADVANTAGE AND DISADVANTAGE

The map on p. 82 shows the survey districts divided into four groups according to social quality, namely: the best, those just

4 See Appendix Table LXIII.

above average, those just below and the worst.[5] It will be noted that the areas corresponding to each of these four social levels tend to fall into somewhat continuous zones. If district lines in those districts where population was known not to be homogeneous be disregarded,[6] and the tendencies lying behind the whole process of social differentiation be generalized, these zones appear even more distinct. The largest nucleus of low-grade population, that is to say of population living within the worst social conditions, falls within four contiguous districts, Districts II, III, IV and IX, which

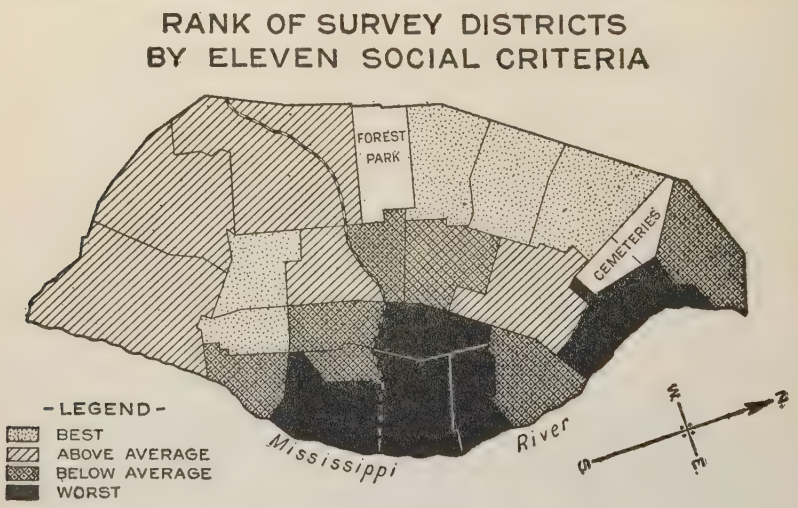


CHART 25

The "good" districts tend strongly to be good all around and the "bad" ones to be bad all around.

lie in the shape of a pyramid with its base on the river and which constitute the oldest settlement of the city. From the apex of this pyramid the bad social conditions continue up the Mill Creek Valley. The class C districts, or those just below the average, occupy in general the remainder of the river front, reaching out toward the West End along the line of the major movement of foreign population.[7]

This area accommodates virtually all the lower grade populations of the city. Class B districts tend to surround the two lobes

5 It will be noted that there are twenty-three districts and that in four cases ranks are duplicated. The result is that the districts fall into nineteen ranks which cannot be divided into four equal parts. The exact ranking is shown in Appendix table (380). For the purpose of graphic presentation the districts have been rearranged according to major affinities into the four classes shown upon the map.

6 See Chap. VIII, page 146 for correction of District lines to secure greater homogeneity.

7 For the effect of this westward expansion of low-grade population upon the movement of American institutions, see page 70.

MOVING VAN AND AUTOMOBILE MAKE FOR SCATTERED CHURCH MEMBERSHIP AND DIFFICULT PARISH WORK

On the Great West-End Boulevard

In the crowded River Ward

of remaining territory while their interior portions, both on the north and south sides, are occupied by Class A, or the most favored population. These best parts of the city, socially speaking, occupy generally the highest ground remotest from the low-lying river front and central valley which have been taken over by industry, followed in turn by poor social conditions.

The entire arrangement of present social advantage and disadvantage corresponds logically to the original topographical selec-

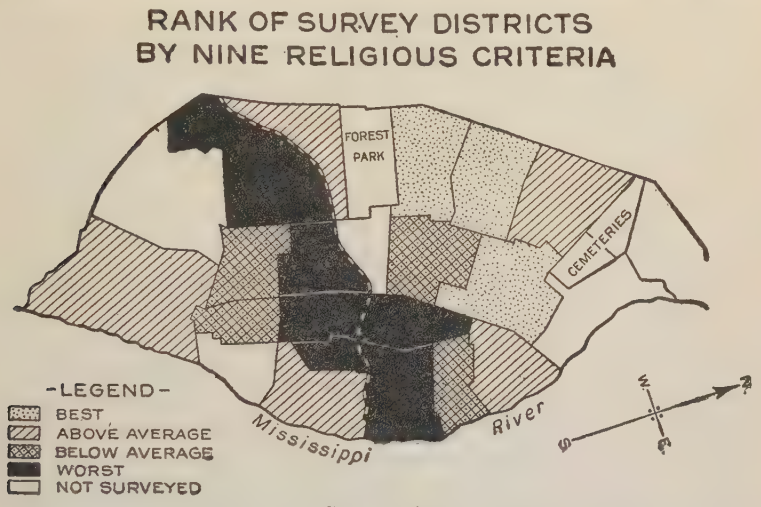


CHART 26

North-side districts tend to agree in social and religious standing, but south-side districts do not.

tion of the city's site. In other words, when the original French settlers located themselves astride the Mill Creek Valley and laid out their common fields to the west and their common pasture to the south, they were determining the physical future and, therefore, the social future of St. Louis. Ever since that time, population has tended to sift itself into areas on different economic and social levels, at the end of which process it has come to pass that men, women and children living in a narrow and inferior social zone suffer terrible permanent handicaps in contrast with other thousands of people living in zones of social advantage not more than half a mile distant!

Geography of Religious Success or Failure

The primary motive of the areal study of St. Louis by districts was, however, ecclesiastical rather than social. Its purpose was to

examine and compare the success and failure of the churches in the various parts of the city in order to know how to deal with them more effectively, within lines of action which Protestantism already understands and accepts.

For this purpose nine criteria of religious excellence were adopted, confessedly from the Protestant standpoint. A district was regarded as good in proportion as it had:

1. A large number of adherents to some religion.
2. Many Protestants.
3. Few irregular or non-evangelical Protestants.
4. A normal ratio between the different classes of adherents.[8]
5. A high ratio of attending adherents compared with preferring ones.
6. Large Sunday schools.
7. Sunday schools with a proper proportion of both children and adolescents.
8. Many young people in both church and Sunday school.
9. Few young people out of both church and Sunday school.

On the combined weight of these criteria, the districts and zones of relative religious advantage and disadvantage were determined. Mapping the results,[9] it is found that three contiguous districts on the North Side, one outside and two just within the city limits and all strongly American in population, make up, together with a single district of preponderant German-American stock and tradition, the best served part of the city religiously.

Three of the other five districts which are above the average religiously are continuous with the four best districts, two of them lying along the western boundary and the third touching the river at the edge of the North Side German sector. The other two are South Side river-front districts detached from the other contiguous area of high religious standing. Both represent old and conservative underlying populations.

Below the average in religious advantage, as measured by the Survey criteria, fall those central districts which have the largest number of foreign, transient and recently rural populations. With a single exception they are also districts in which the largest number of unchurched people are found. With them, however, rank three socially prosperous districts at the heart of the South Side. The median position in religious standing, curiously, is occupied by the district which ranks highest in the city in social quality.

Generalizing: the majority of the oldest districts of the city

[8] It was found that the average Protestant church had fifty-seven members to every twenty-three who "attended" but did not belong, and twenty who "preferred" but neither belonged nor attended. For evidence that this average was a proper standard, see Appendix, page 296.

[9] Page 83.

and the Mill River Valley are the areas of religious depression as they were of social depression; but the extension of the area of religious handicap to the prosperous South Side is a variation. As was the case with the social criteria studied, the various elements of religious success or failure tend to coincide in the same areas. A good district is likely to be good all around and a poor one to be poor all around. In other words, the elements of religious success or failure are essentially coherent.

Correlation of Social and Religious Phenomena

The Survey made no attempt in advance to organize its investigations so as to result in the formal comparison of social and religious data. Now, however, that the two have been separately and somewhat differently measured, it is natural to try to make such comparisons as the data permit.

Eighteen out of the twenty-three survey districts were studied both socially and religiously. The comparison is therefore limited to these eighteen.[10]

It must be noted first that there is no such wide difference between the best and the worst in religious standing as was demonstrated in the sphere of social fortunes. Thus, in per cent. of population adherent to some religious faith, the highest and lowest districts stand only 11 per cent. apart. The best district in Sunday school attendance is only 21 per cent. above the poorest, while it has only one-twelfth as much juvenile delinquency as the poorest district in that respect. Comparison is then between two sets of phenomena, one of which shows a very broad range of internal contrast while the other shows a narrow range.[11]

CORRELATION OF SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS FACTORS NOT CLOSE

It is next to be noted that no very close affinity is established between the social and religious fortunes of the same districts, as shown in the following table. Only ten out of the eighteen districts under comparison agree to the extent that they stand on the same side of the average on both social and religious criteria. This is shown in Table IX.

While the total list shows the lack of close correspondence above noted, if the extremes are compared a higher degree of correspondence is found than between the districts just above and just

10 The religious survey of District III was less complete than the others and it is consequently not ranked in Appendix, Table LIII. It was however complete enough to justify its place at the bottom of the column religiously and its inclusion in the present comparison.

11 Compare Appendix Tables XLIII and LIII.

TABLE IX—SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS RANKING OF COMPARABLE DISTRICTS

District	*Social Rank*	*Religious Rank*
XI A	1	9
XVI	2.5	1
XVII	2.5	2
XI B	4	10
XV	5	7
XII	6	14
XVIII	7	8
XIX	8	15
I	9	6
VIII	10	3
X A	11	17
X B	12	11
V	13.5	4.5
XIV	13.5	12
IV	15	13
IX	16	16
II B	17	4.5
III	18	18

below the average. Of the five districts ranking highest, three show correspondence in social and religious phenomena. Of the four districts ranking lowest, three show a similar correspondence, while only four out of the nine districts constituting the two middle classes correspond.

Again, if the districts on the North Side of the city are compared with those on the South Side a very high degree of correlation is noted for the North Side, with almost complete absence of correlation for the South Side, as shown in Table X.

TABLE X— SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS RANKING OF NORTH SIDE AND SOUTH SIDE

North Side			South Side		
District	*Social Rank*	*Religious Rank*	*District*	*Social Rank*	*Religious Rank*
XVI	1.5	1	XI A	1	3
XVII	1.5	2	XI B	2	4
XV	3	5	XII	3	6
XVIII	4	3	XIX	4	7
VIII	5	6	I	5	2
XIV	6.5	7	X A	6	8
V	6.5	4.5	X B	7	5
IV	8	8	II B	8	1
IX	9	9			
III	10	10			

Summarizing, one can only say that, in the aspects in which they have been measured, social and religious qualities in St. Louis sometimes coincide in the same areas and sometimes do not. They tend

somewhat to do so in the best and the worst districts; and also on the North Side, but do not on the South Side. There is no such general tendency as to justify the conclusion that one set of factors controls the other or, particularly, that religious fortunes are necessarily conditioned by social status or vice versa.

INTENSIVE FIELD STUDIES OF TYPICAL DISTRICTS

As already indicated, the attempt to correlate social and religious phenomena was not in mind when the survey processes were originally organized. In view of its negative results as just shown, it is evident that one must look elsewhere for a basis for interpreting the geography of these phenomena. For the explanation of variations in religious standing, the Survey looked chiefly to an extensive field study of ten typical districts. Their location is shown in the chart on page 83. They constitute a geographical cross-section of the city following its main line of development from east to west, and are believed to show the entire range of religious and social contrasts. District conferences were held in these districts with religious and community leaders and intimate information both as to facts and as to interpretations locally held were reached through first-hand discussion and criticism.[12]

It is assumed that extended summaries of these district studies have in their details chief value for St. Louis people in local programizing. They are therefore placed in Part II of this book. The evidence which they present seems to justify the following generalization:

Eight major conditions of religious success and failure are to be observed in St. Louis. They are frequently recurrent in the districts intensively studied or have been discovered by local experience to have large influence. These eight conditions and the number of typical districts in which each is clearly present may be tabulated as follows:

Religious Success		Religious Failure	
Observed Conditions	*Number of Districts*	*Observed Conditions*	*Number of Districts*
1. American-born population long resident in city....	4	Rural migrants white or Negro recently arrived	3
2. Population of foreign or mixed parentage with aggressive churches in the line of prestige.....	1	A population of native born of foreign or mixed parentage with non-gripping churches and out of line of prestige	1
3. Strong religious tradition			

12 See page 146.

Religious Success — Observed Conditions	Number of Districts	Religious Failure — Observed Conditions	Number of Districts
in foreign Protestant population	1	Breakdown of religious tradition in foreign population by mixture of nationalities.	1
4. Relative social homogeneity	6	Lack of homogeneity	2
5. Social affinity of churches. Churches dominated by people of same social level as characteristic population	4	Lack of social affinity of churches	4
6. Denominational affinity of Churches. Constituency strong in vicinity	5	Lack of denominational affinity of churches	3
7. Prestige of churches: distinguished history, wealth and social standing	3	Lack of prestige of churches —undistinguished and commonplace character	1
8. Social adaptation of churches	2	Lack of social adaptation of churches	3

The significance of most of these conditions is fairly obvious and requires but brief comment.

1. Native population long resident in the city constitutes the best field for Protestant success. The presence of large numbers of recent rural immigrants either white or Negro is definitely proved by district studies to be associated with districts below par religiously. This is only natural in population not yet adjusted to American urban conditions, and is found in the river wards and Mill Creek Valley.

2. The presence of large bodies of Americans of foreign or mixed parentage who have broken away from the religious traditions of their fathers and have not yet assimilated native American traditions clearly makes for lower religious standing in the districts in which they are numerous, all districts but one with an excess of such population showing low standing. On the North Side the presence of such population results in large numbers who claim to prefer some church but do not either belong or attend, while on the South Side they have gone a step farther and have lost all church connection.

3. The conservatism of foreign-born groups, based upon old habits, definitely tends to perpetuate a vigorous faith if it was present to start with. But if a foreign-born population, instead of being segregated in a solid colony of its own nationality, is inter-mingled with lower types of other nationalities and of native white and Negro population, the quality of its religion is likely to be broken down. The solid racial colony is thus favorable to such religion as it has; the polyglot neighborhood unfavorable.

4. Social stratification in a district keeps people from feeling at home with one another and consequently from coöperating within the church. This condition is most extreme in the districts on either side of the Mill Creek Valley which is generally crossed with parallel belts of population of radically divergent social status. This helps to explain the lower standing of the churches in such districts.

The above four conditions are related to the characteristics of

religious constituencies. The next four are related to the church and its strategy.

5. A lack of churches of historic influence and standing, which at the same time lack social affinity for the neighboring population, is a religious handicap. This partly explains the fate of District X B, which has strong churches clustered about Lafayette Park, but unfortunately churches not fully in step with present population tendencies.

6. Naturally the presence of churches of the same denomination as that of a majority of the people in the district makes it easy for religion to succeed through the church, while the absence of such churches constitutes a handicap. Such a handicap is present in District X A which stands lowest of all from a religious point of view.

7. As repeatedly noted, a most potent influence in the relative weakness of organized religion on the South Side is the undistinguished and commonplace character of the churches, while the greater prestige of those on the North Side undoubtedly helps to explain their success. There is about the same proportion of churches relative to population on the two sides, but the older, more influential and wealthier have moved over a single beaten trail toward the West End, while the city was spreading out fan-like. The South Side lacks the momentum and force of this main line of churches. The North Side has the historic continuity and local apostolic succession of Protestantism.

8. Socially adapted churches which mold their programs definitely to suit the character of the neighborhood, and which attach its social problems to all sides, have made definite institutional success in a number of districts. Only in District II B, however, is there a massing of such churches. Here also they have had their longest history of service. Without absolute statistical proof, it is probable that they are largely responsible for raising the religious standing of the district far above its social standing; whereas elsewhere their individual success has not been sufficient to effect the standing of any district as a whole.

A COMMON SENSE CONCLUSION

Eighteen districts were compared as to certain religious and social criteria, which had been statistically measured, with the negative result that no significant degree of correspondence has been established. Certain clews were suggested however which have been in mind through the objective field studies of typical districts. Sifting out the observed conditions of religious success discovered in these studies, one can lay them against the previous negative results and arrive at the following rather common-sense conclusion: Social and religious phenomena show a tendency to correspond in their more extreme developments. They do so on the North Side because the North Side has more districts in which these extreme developments occur. Of the nine North Side districts, three are very good on both counts and three very bad. Five of the nine South Side districts, on the contrary, are only a little above or a

little below the average socially. Obviously, lying so near to it, as they do, a comparatively little pull of the known forces either of religious success or of religious failure will be sufficient to turn it to one side of the average or the other. What actually happens, in a limited number of cases studied as typical, is shown in the following table:

TABLE XI—SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS RANKING OF DISTRICTS COMPARED WITH THE NUMBER OF OBSERVED CONDITIONS OF RELIGIOUS SUCCESS OR FAILURE.

District	*Social Class Rank*	*Conditions of Religious Success*	*Conditions of Religious Failure*	*Religious Class Rank*
XVI	A	6	0	A
Webster Groves	A	6	0	A
XIV	C	2	4	C
VIII	C	5	0	A
X A	C	0	8	D
IX	D	2	4	D
III	D	1	3	D
II B	D	5	0	A

Where specific conditions of religious success or failure merely reënforce the social standing of the district as in the case with District XVI and Webster Groves, its religious standing is naturally unchanged. Where, however, they are strong enough, they can carry a district lying near the average to a higher class, as in the case of District VIII, or to a decisively lower place, as in the case of District X A. In the single case of District II B a coincidence of five conditions of success has been able to exalt a district from the lowest social level to the highest religious one.

On the basis of the above study of typical districts, one may guess with fair accuracy why it has worked out as it has in the other districts.

As shown by Tables LXIII and LIII, Districts XV and XVII agree with their neighboring District XVI in that they have high standards both physically and religiously. They illustrate the principle that extreme excellence of the one tends to go with extreme excellence of the other. District IV, on the contrary, illustrates the reverse principle, namely, that extreme inferiority in one tends to go with extreme inferiority in the other. It is bounded by Districts III and IX which stand close to the bottom of the list on both counts, and is contiguous with the area of lowest human fortunes.

District V, on the contrary, is pulled up into a higher class religiously than its social level would indicate. This is also true of the contiguous District VIII which was studied in detail. The two

districts doubtless enjoy some of the same advantages, being part of the same North Side German-American sector. For a large area of contiguous South Side territory marked by a minus, where religious standing is depressed below social standing, the case appears to be not quite the same. These districts do not generally have a large number of religiously depressing conditions. They are homogeneous and their churches are congruous with the populations they are supposed to serve. Yet their religious standing is below their social level. It appears most likely that the presence of a large German-American population which has broken with the older forms of faith and has not yet fully assimilated to the American spirit, coupled with the lack of prestige in the churches, constitutes a pervasive factor operating with special power in these districts and sufficient to explain their anomalous showing.

What the Church Can Do Geographically

The area of religious mediocrity or failure is thus continuous. The causes of this, however, are various; and consequently the remedies to be applied in different parts of it appear to be different. In the central part of the city, Protestantism can do nothing less than attempt to solve the entire urban social problem. On the South Side, however, Protestantism ought very easily to devise an effective "speed-up" of program depending only upon sufficient team-play between denominations. This might easily be made strong enough to tip the scales where the margin of disadvantage to be overcome is relatively so slight. While prestige, to be sure, is a plant of slow growth, a united Protestant policy, reënforced by well-chosen leadership and by a fervent religious spirit could undoubtedly raise the whole standing of church influence in any part of the city where it was resolutely applied. Such a strong, united effort could be made on the South Side.

RADICAL SOCIAL EQUALITY AND THE CHURCH

Assuming that such strategy would relatively solve the problem of areas that present no radical difficulties, what shall one say of those areas where concrete social handicaps have been shown to be profound and deep-rooted? Recalling the observed conditions of religious success found actively at work in the districts, it is to be noted that in no case did excellence of church work alone seem to raise a really difficult district to a high religious level. The most encouraging case was that of District II B. Here socially adapted churches were thought to have had a real share in the strong re-

ligious standing of the district; but not without the reënforcement of a gripping traditional religion. This power of traditional religion shows certain signs of weakening. What might come to the district if it should go, leaving the churches alone to bear the burden through excellence of organization and service, cannot be certainly guessed.

How much social potency has the church in St. Louis? The Survey does not know. The church has never exerted its maximum effort under a competent and unified strategy.

Before passing judgment on the possible success of the church, or upon its consequent responsibility, it is helpful to recall some of the outstanding discoveries arising in the religious history of St. Louis.

1. From pioneer days down to the present, each new Protestant element entering has brought its own denominational version of faith and its own local organization. The present situation is the result of an accumulation of denominations and churches springing from this process.

2. Since the elements of population which brought Protestantism to St. Louis represented all social levels and all ranks of economic status, Protestantism started as a very complete cross-section of the entire community. It has continued to be thus by keeping within the ruts in which it started. There are Protestant churches of the poor, of the middle classes and of the rich, because Protestantism started that way. Protestantism continues to operate selectively on all social levels.

3. In any given locality the existing Protestant churches do not easily reach even new-coming Protestant people if they differ in any considerable degree from the types already found in the churches. They tend, therefore, to move away when their old constituencies move, if the newcomers are not of the same faith and social status as well.

4. In spite of this fact, the distribution of Protestant churches in the city is essentially equal, chiefly because the newcomers have brought their own type of churches to take the place of the departing ones.

5. These churches are smaller and poorer and belong to denominations not so well established and reputable in the country as a whole as the migrating ones. From this standpoint the quality of religious ministry afforded the less fortunate sections of the city is very disproportionate to their need. It is not churches which they lack but good churches.

Such is the general story of the Protestant churches. There have been striking exceptions, whose success warrants imitation,

but on the whole the churches have not conceived it as part of their task to equalize human opportunity throughout the city.

A NEW PROTESTANT STRATEGY REQUIRED

It would seem to be obvious that any possibility of the equalizing of religious opportunity for the entire city involves religious planning of a new sort. Its natural strategy is divergent from and may be contrary to the strategy of mere denominational advantage. It must subordinate the institutional means to the social end. It must overcome the feeling that the church as a religious organization is independent of other and merely secular agencies of philanthropy and social up-building. It must ask what is really the good of the entire population. How can each agency and all the agencies together serve this end? How must the church change its attitude and its ways in order that it may completely coöperate? This involves a very revolutionary departure from the separate and sectarian objective of the past. Each local church has been acting alone, seeking institutional advantage by staying or by moving, as the case might be. Each denomination has been trying first of all to grow. Protestantism has been without the means of following any other ideal, even when it possessed another ideal. It has been terribly set in a conventional direction. It has developed but few churches of special types and has rarely taken the viewpoint of community service. Yet such a viewpoint is a fundamental necessity if the church would be Christian.

Its claims will affect everything pertaining to the practice and policy of the church all along the line. The total proportion and emphasis of church life will be modified. The agencies and means necessary to achieve this ideal will be forthcoming. Its final test is whether it can really redirect large amounts of money, erect new buildings and summon and adequately support a force of workers to do this one thing.

SPECIFIC MEANS DIRECTED TO SPECIFIC ENDS

A second obvious principle requires that the social efforts of the church shall be directed to specific ends. The Class D districts did not get their dark hues all at once. The convergence of forces pulling life down was established gradually. These malign forces continue to operate specifically in concrete situations of hardship and evil. The color of the map expresses this fact. There is no way to change its color except by changing these conditions one at a time by the most painstaking and intimate grappling with them

where their strength is fiercest. As an outcome, however, of loyal and adequately supported work, the church with its allies is amply able to turn the tide and gradually to change the colors of the map from darker to lighter.

No one knows how far it could go. The only gallant thing is to go to the limit in trying. This conviction was fancifully presented in a pageant based upon the Survey and enacted by members of the Community Training School for Church School Workers for the 1922 annual meeting of the Church Federation. It portrayed Infant Mortality, Tuberculosis, Juvenile Delinquency, Poverty and the like—all the malign characters which paint the less fortunate districts of the city with their dark colors. Then it presented symbolically the constructive forces of church and voluntary philanthropy contesting with these evils and putting them to rout. It showed the result in a transformed color scheme whereby hues symbolic of life, happiness and cleanness of body, mind and heart were substituted for the sombre colors of the present. This parable upon the scientifically determined results of the Survey shows not merely that St. Louis is minded to take them to heart, but also leads into the realm of profounder vision and motive.

It is indeed the privilege of the church to serve as a spiritual comfort in spite of social conditions which it cannot immediately or quickly remedy; but it is also its business to alter conditions for the better. It has also the privilege of measuring definitely the progress which it makes in so doing.

The church's final mission is to represent God to live infants, well parents, prudent and thrifty families, friendly neighborhoods, clean and beautiful cities and mighty urban communities in which all the people are being brought to the very highest level that the material resources, intelligence and brotherliness of America can achieve.

Chapter V

THE LOCAL PROTESTANT CHURCHES: THE AVERAGE ST. LOUIS CHURCH

The fundamental unit of organized Protestant religion is the local church. However bound to and theoretically standardized by denominational authority and relationships it may be, when it comes to actual social functioning, it is in all communions largely independent. It is only in its local units that the Church enters into primary and first-hand contacts with other community agencies; and only by a final coöperation of local churches as community units can the city's welfare be fully served.

TABLE XII — ST. LOUIS CHURCHES BY SIZE-GROUPS

Number of Members	*Number of Churches*	*Percentage Distribution*	
Under 50	16	6.6	20.9
50–100	35	14.3	
100–150	32	13.1	22.5
150–200	23	9.4	
200–250	19	7.8	16.0
250–300	20	8.2	
300–400	16	6.6	
400–500	21	8.6	
500–600	23	9.4	
600–700	8	3.3	
700–800	6	2.5	
800–900	7	2.9	
900–1,000	3	1.2	
1,000–1,100	5	2.1	
1,100–1,200	1	0.4	
1,200–1,300	2	0.8	
1,300–1,400	3	1.2	
1,400–1,500	1	0.4	
1,500 +	3	1.2	
	244	100.0	

Protestantism, in particular, is so lacking in actual direction by central authority, and its coherence through tradition is so slight, that it is little more in the community than the aggregate of its separate churches. In these circumstances, the effectiveness of the Church is no more than the effectiveness of its units. A survey of organized religious forces must, therefore, primarily consist in a study of local churches.

SIZE

The St. Louis Protestant church may be considered first with respect to size. In Table XII, 244 white churches of the regularly organized denominations belonging to the Church Federation are classified by size-groups. The table includes churches both of city and of suburbs.

There are more of these churches having from fifty to one hundred members than of any other size group. More than one-third of the total have fewer than 150 members each, while 60 per cent. have

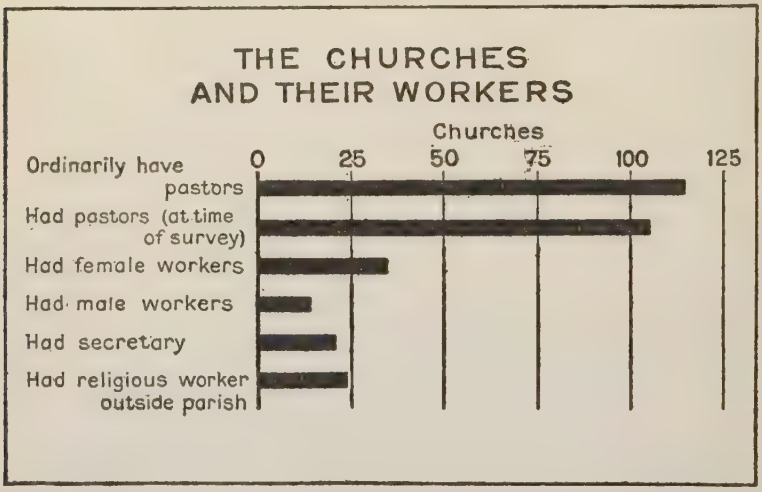


CHART 27

Number of St. Louis churches having specified religious workers at date—1920.

fewer than 300. On the other hand, about 7 per cent. have more than 1,000 members each. Numerically speaking, two-thirds of the entire number would not be conspicuous in small towns or even in the open country.

The discovery that the typical Protestant church of St. Louis has a membership of less than 300, makes it contrast strikingly with the Roman Catholic churches, which almost invariably report membership in the thousands. Exact comparison is impossible because membership is calculated on a different basis. To the Protestant enrolled membership it is fair to add about 40 per cent. for other regular adherents; but even so the average Protestant church is not a very large affair compared with the average Roman Catholic church. In contrast with both Catholic and Protestant churches the typical synagogue has fewer than 100 members.

STAFF

With respect to professional leadership, the Protestant church is usually a one-man affair. Table XIII shows the paid staff of 114 churches, and shows how few have additional male workers, while 29 per cent. have additional female workers as parish assistants (generally but one to a church), and 18 per cent. have clerical assistants.

TABLE XIII — NUMBER AND PER CENT. OF 114 PROTESTANT CHURCHES HAVING CERTAIN SPECIFIED RELIGIOUS OFFICERS, 1920.

Office	*Number*	*Per cent.*
Pastor (habitually)	114	100
Pastor (at time of survey)	105	92
Additional Male Workers	13	11
Assistant Pastor	*7*	*6*
Director of Religious Education	*6*	*5*
Additional Female Workers	34	30
Deaconess	*18*	*16*
Parish Visitor	*16*	*14*
Pastor's Secretary	21	18
Religious Worker Outside of Parish[1]	23	20
Home Missionary	*3*	*2*
City Missionary	*10*	*9*
Foreign Missionary	*10*	*9*

EDUCATION OF PASTORS

The early environment of ninety and professional training of ninety-four pastors were reported in 1920 as follows:

	Number
Educational Environment	
City	49
Rural	41
Academic Training	
Special training, less than college grade	11
College	16
College and Seminary	50
College, Seminary and Post-graduate	17

Without overstating the importance of the early educational environment of ministers, there is strong reason to feel that the failure of so large a proportion of churches to adapt themselves in any tangible way to city conditions may be due to lack of urban outlook on the part of many of their leaders whose habits of thought were fixed in early rural surroundings.

[1] The support of a religious worker outside of the parish is a luxury possible only for the very largest churches.

It will be noted, however, that the average St. Louis minister is well trained from the conventional standpoint. All but 11 per cent. of the cases reported have had at least college education, and 71 per cent. have had the full traditional training for the ministry, or more.

SERVICE RECORD

The length of service of St. Louis ministers in their present charges is reported for ninety-four cases as in Table XIV. Four of them represent part-time service; the rest full time.

TABLE XIV—LENGTH OF SERVICE IN PRESENT CHARGES OF PASTORS OF NINETY-FOUR CHURCHES, 1920

Length of Service	*Number*	*Per cent.*
Under 3 years	39	41.5
Under 1 year	*11*	*11.7*
1 year	*12*	*12.8*
2 years	*16*	*17.0*
3–5 years	22	23.4
6–8 "	15	16.0
9–11 "	2	2.1
12–14 "	5	5.3
15–17 "	3	3.2
18–20 "	1	1.1
Over 20	7	7.4

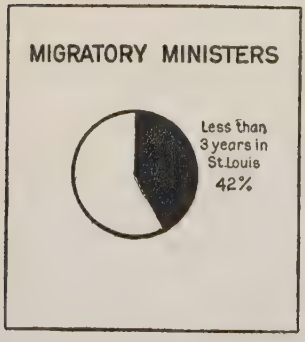


CHART 28

Thirty-nine of the ninety-two St Louis pastors reporting had been in their present position less than three years.

While the average tenure of these city pastors is longer than for the ministry in general, especially for rural pastors, 41.5 per cent. have been in St. Louis less than three years, and 65 per cent. not more than five years. This indicates the lack of continuity in leadership with which the Church is so familiar. It would be fatal in any other business, and makes a consecutive policy of church work impossible.

EXPERIENCE

The St. Louis minister is ordinarily an experienced man professionally, as indicated by Table XV.

What the figures in Table XV mean is simply that the St. Louis churches do not ordinarily take very young men for their ministers. Whether this reflects an excep-

TABLE XV—LENGTH OF EXPERIENCE IN PASTORATE OF EIGHTY-SEVEN ST. LOUIS MINISTERS, 1920

In Pastorate	*Number*	*Per cent.*
Under 10 years	23	26.4
Under 5 years	*7*	*8.0*
5–9 "	*16*	*18.4*
10–19 years	31	35.6
20–29 "	24	27.6
30 and over	9	10.4

tional tendency or would be paralleled in other American cities, cannot be known without further surveys. It inevitably makes for conservatism in church life since the majority of the leaders were out of school before the modern outlook in ministerial preparation had been achieved.

SALARIES

The salaries of eighty-eight ministers reporting showed the range given in Table XVI.

TABLE XVI—SALARIES OF EIGHTY-EIGHT PASTORS IN ST. LOUIS, 1920

Salaries	*Number*	*Per cent.*
Less than $1,000	6	6.8
1,000–1,500	23	26.1
1,500–2,000	19	21.6
2,000–2,500	18	20.4
2,500–3,000	8	9.1
3,000–3,500	2	2.3
3,500–4,000	2	2.3
4,000–4,500	1	1.1
4,500–5,000	2	2.3
Over 5,000	7	8.0

It is to be noted that those receiving less than $1,000 in some cases gave only part-time service. There were more receiving from $1,000 to $1,500 than any other salary group, while 75 per cent. received less than $2,500. It is interesting to note, also, that the groups receiving from $2,500 to $3,000 and over $5,000, respectively, are each just about equal to the group receiving from $3,000 to $5,000.

SALARY INCREASES

Table XVII, showing percentage of salary increase during the last five years, speaks well for the response of the St. Louis churches to the increased cost of living. Seventy cases are reported.

TABLE XVII—INCREASES IN SALARIES OF SEVENTY ST. LOUIS MINISTERS BETWEEN 1914 AND 1920

Per cent. Increase	*Ministers*	
	Number	*Per cent.*
Under 25	12	17.1
25–49	21	30.0
50–74	18	25.7
75–99	3	4.3
100 and over	16	22.9
	70	100.0

It must be pointed out, however, that in at least half of the cases the increase was not equal to the increased cost of living, so that the minister was left with a smaller purchasing power than before the world war.

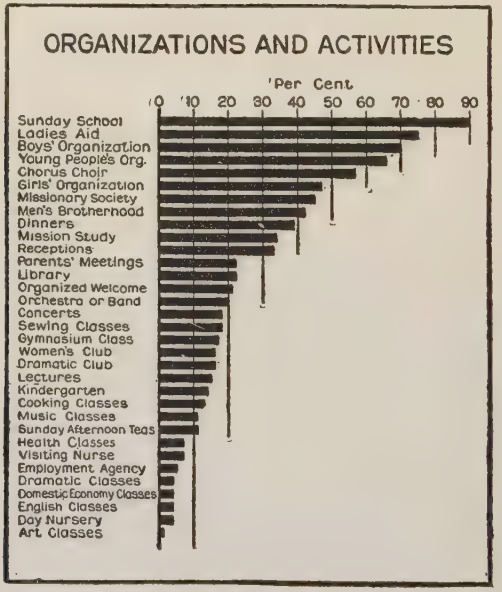


CHART 29

This chart shows what per cent. of St. Louis churches have each of the thirty-three subsidiary organizations on activities specified in the column on the left.

INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF CHURCHES

The range and frequency of organization of 114 Protestant churches reporting are indicated in Chart 29.

This chart indicates that at least one-third of the churches have a very narrow range of internal organization consisting of one organization each for women, boys and young people in addition to Sunday school. While it is not supposed that there are any churches without Sunday schools (in spite of the failure of some of the schedules to report as to the fact), it is clear that a very large number of churches do not depart in any respect from the typical organization of the rural or village church. That more than half do not have women's missionary societies is due to the fact that churches of German-speaking origin do not develop that type of organization as the American churches do. On the other hand, the relatively large number of chorus choirs is probably due to the choral tradition of the German churches. Innovations are attempted by few churches and social service by very few indeed. On the whole, it seems a necessary verdict that the churches have not shown great originality in organization and have largely failed to develop such progressive features of church life as are frequently assumed to be characteristic of most city churches. This goes with the discovery that in the main they are numerically small affairs.

FACILITIES

Church facilities were represented as in Table XVIII.

From the standpoint of facilities, again the typical St. Louis church does not go far toward reflecting distinctly urban tendencies. Less than half of the churches, for example, maintain a church office or carry on any form of advertising comparable to the signs and window displays of business. Few appear to have any of the common office facilities for keeping in touch with members and congregation, while special equipment for social work is highly exceptional. There is, however, a fairly high per cent. of provision for visual instruction and entertainment.

Of the 114 churches filling out schedules, only 26 per cent. report anything which they themselves classify under the head of community service. The activities most frequently reported are libraries, concerts, and sewing classes. Evangelistic services held locally are reported in about 50 per cent. of the churches, and evangelism in coöperation with other churches in about 10 per cent. About one-third report systematic organization for personal evangelism.

Thirty-two churches still maintain certain services in the German language. Except for these there are only scattered cases of Protestant services held in any other language than English. This reflects the relatively small proportions of the problem of the for-

eigner and the still smaller provision of the Protestant forces for meeting it religiously.

All told, the typical St. Louis church is not larger, and apparently not better in the quality of its leadership, in the type of its organization, or in its facilities, than the best churches of the village or rural county seat, say of 3,000 population, while it is distinctly below many of the best churches of the typical small city. It would

TABLE XVIII — PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL FACILITIES OF 114 ST. LOUIS CHURCHES, 1920

	Per cent.
Over two-thirds of the churches report:	
Organ	83.3
Toilet facilities	78.9
Kitchen	79.8
Blackboards	75.4
Pastor's Study	66.6
From one-half to two-thirds report:	
Maps	55.2
From one-third to one-half report:	
Church Office	47.3
Inside Bulletin Board	47.3
Outside " "	42.1
Stereopticon	37.7
From one-fifth to one-third report:	
Duplicating Device	25.4
Drinking Fountain	29.8
Gymnasium	22.8
From one-tenth to one-fifth report:	
Motion-Picture Machine	17.5
Baths	15.8
Reading Room	15.7
Electric Sign	14.9
Kindergarten	12.3
Addressograph	11.4
Less than one-tenth report:	
Lantern	8.7
Printing Plant	6.1
Day Nursery	5.2
Office for Educational Administration	3.5
Swimming Pool	1.7

seem natural that the institutions of a great city would show metropolitan quality in size and characteristics. This is not true of St. Louis churches. The typical public school of the city, for example, is infinitely better than that of the small town. Its churches, on the other hand, seem to have transplanted rural limitations rather than to have achieved typical urban expression.

Even the exceptional church generally is exceptional in size and scale of operation rather than in variety of function. The enormous memberships of some of the churches of German-speaking origin may frequently be matched on the prairies of the Northwest, and

plenty of cities with populations of 10,000 have churches as large and doing practically all the things which most of the St. Louis churches are doing. In other words, the typical church of St. Louis is a small church of the family type carrying out essentially a tradi-

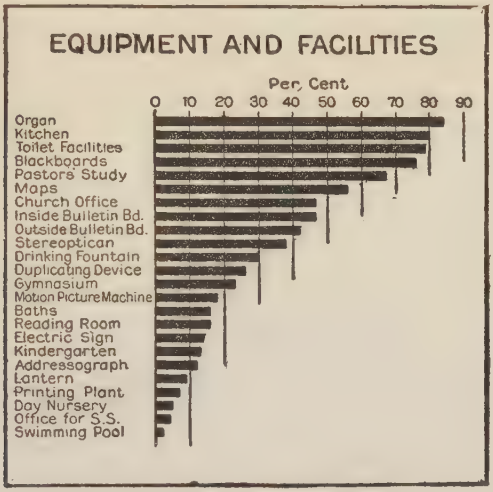


CHART 30

This chart shows what per cent. of St. Louis churches have each of the twenty-four facilities or items of equipment specified in the column on the left.

tional expression of religious life with a limited program of service. If a classification be attempted of the total number of Protestant organizations in the city, three-fifths of all appear to the Survey to merit the label, "traditional family church."

Chapter VI

THE LOCAL PROTESTANT CHURCHES: EVOLUTION OF THE MORE VARIED TYPES

The previous chapter presented a generalization based upon a composite picture of St. Louis churches in which differences were ignored. Differences appeared indeed as numerical exceptions, but the departures from type which they represent were not considered as the foundations of new types. Such departures manifestly need interpreting. Although infrequent they may be significant. In variety of internal organization and breadth of program, for example, they suggest that different churches are trying to do different things; in other words, that their variations are functional.

Again, certain differences need interpretations which demand an enlargement of the definition of the Church at this point. The original Survey, as locally conceived and carried out in St. Louis, practically ignored a large number of religious organizations standing outside of the standard and recognized denominations, but essentially fulfilling the central functions of the Church, namely, those of providing stated social worship and religious instruction to a more or less well-defined group of adherents. The underlying question is, How like to the typical church must a religious organization be in order to be called a church? Or, How unlike may it be and still be classified with the churches? Is a regular meeting-place and an habitual worshipping body, not based upon a covenanting membership, a church? Is a mission which has no distinct membership or self-government a church?

If these variants are not churches they are at least types of religious organizations which must be noted as attached to the same functional group of religious agencies. If all such variants be taken into account, it becomes necessary to increase the number of white Protestant organizations which are sufficiently alike to be grouped together from 199 to 285.

Noting the exceptional forms and activities which this enlarged group of religious organizations presents is not, however, sufficient ground for the discrimination of variant types. Exceptional churches, whose variations from the dominant type are similar in form, may be showing functional adaptation to different situations. For example, the community-serving church of the poorer districts

does many of the same things which the upper middle-class church with its elaborate parish house does. Each perhaps operates a gymnasium; but while the former operates it for the benefit of the neighborhood and invites all comers, the latter reserves it for the use of its own young people, and will put strangers out if they become too numerous. It is necessary to understand just what environments, what social levels are intended in the functional variations which the churches show.

Finally, the exceptional types are not true species, but variants to a limited degree only. Their differences are based more on instructive than on purposeful adaptations to particular selections.

Many of the types that stand out definitely in other cities are but ghosts and shadows in St. Louis or have but scant and feeble representation. In variety and adaptation to the needs of living people the churches collectively are not nearly so interesting as the city itself.

Nevertheless some fifteen variant types have emerged whose differences seem worth noting and whose adaptations appear to be advantageous and worthy to be carried further.

PRELIMINARY CLASSIFICATION

Without absolute statistical warrant, but upon the basis of the experience and interpretation of the Church Federation, the Survey has attempted to classify tentatively 255 churches and kindred religious institutions as to type. The classification so attempted and the roughly estimated number of churches of each type appear in Table XIX.

TABLE XIX — CLASSIFICATION OF EVANGELICAL PROTESTANT CHURCHES AND MISSIONS (WHITE) IN ST. LOUIS

Type	*Number*
Middle-Class Family Church	90
" " " " (German)	58
"Holiness" Mission Hall	50
Upper Middle-Class Church	10 or 12
Community Serving Church	10
Slum Family Mission	8 or 10
"Leading" West End Church	8
Rescue Mission	4 or 6
Rural Village Type of Church	4
Historic Downtown Church	3
Church of Suburban Center	2
Neighborhood Center	1
Foreign Language Church	1
Church of Minor Urban Center	1
Central Popular Church	1

CAUSES OF VARIATION IN ST. LOUIS CHURCHES

To draw out such a series of designations and estimates is to remain merely in the impressionistic stage without the discovery of some fundamental basis for the variations suggested by them.

Some evidently are based upon differences in environment. The four fundamental types of urban environment are: (1) the residential; (2) the industrial (which always means a mixture of poor residences with industry, the latter predominating); (3) environment constituted by the major urban centers (characterized by popular congregation for business and pleasure, by the focusing of transit facilities, by the daily ebb and flow of population in connection with work, and by the presence of certain transient residents); and (4) the rural peripheral environment, where the city includes or directly adjoins considerable areas of open country. The affinity of the typical St. Louis church for a residential environment has been demonstrated at length, while the affinity of the community serving church generally for the industrial environment and of the central downtown and rural churches for their distinctive environmental settings is self-evident.

Other varieties in St. Louis churches reflect the social levels of the constituencies served. It may seem an affront to religion to admit that the church molds itself upon social class differences; yet it is impossible not to see in some of the variant programs of the churches of the residential districts the expression of class ideals and habits. Below the typical middle-class church, on the other hand, environment presses so severely upon people that the church's methods of necessity reflect the descending scale of fortunes. With the family belonging to sub-normal social status the church simply must become a church plus a relief station. As the family dissolves under extremely adverse conditions and only detached or submerged individuals are left to be dealt with, the church again must function as an emergency aid or a rescue mission. Thus throughout the scale of social fortunes the church develops corresponding variations.

Some of these variations tend to create new church types defined by the methods and programs which they evolve in their attempt to adapt themselves to their environments and constituencies. The community serving type, for example, takes on a characteristic range of service functions growing out of the needs of its community. On the same principle, but with an antithesis in method, the gospel hall eliminates elaborate plant, educated leadership and broad program till it gets down to the level of its constituency.

Certain types of churches finally express mental attitudes based

upon definite environmental peculiarities and become distinct types thereby. Sometimes the environmental influence belonged to the past and the attitude is a holdover. Thus a historic church carries into the present habits formed in former years and really stands out as different because of what it used to be; or some vigorous contemporary feeling, as the solidarity of certain organized industrial or racial groups, colors what would otherwise be merely an average church with a distinct typical quality. Some of the German-speaking churches of St. Louis illustrate this factor.

Summarizing then: churches become variant types, departing from the composite forms by combining the characteristics of the whole group, in four ways: (1) by reflecting differing environments; (2) by serving constituencies at different social levels; (3) by using distinctive methods as part of the process of adaptation; (4) by developing specialized attitudes.

These factors affect in varying degrees the fifteen types recognized by the Survey in St. Louis. As each is briefly characterized the contribution of each factor will be noted.

THE FIFTEEN TYPES OF CHURCHES

1. *The Middle-Class Family Church*

The typical St. Louis church, as has been shown, is a small church of the family type, carrying on an essentially traditional religious life with a narrow program of service. Since Protestantism tends to be associated mainly with the more prosperous classes and does not have numerous churches among the poorest of the population, and since, on the other hand, there are not very many people of great wealth, it follows that the large majority of Protestant churches are of the middle-class type described. Three-fifths of the total number have been shown to belong in that classification.

2. *The Church of the Minor Urban Center*

Residential territory may either be an undifferentiated area of homes or it may be an arrangement of such homes around and with reference to some minor civic center. Such minor centers of traffic, business, and recreation exist or are forming at many places within the city of St. Louis. They do not characterize but rather merely organize the essential residential qualities of other areas. The presence of such centers is, however, already beginning to clear the consciousness and sharpen the functional service of certain churches attached to them. Without fully realizing what it means such churches are sentimentally identifying themselves with forces of the

K. C. K.

center at which they are located. They, themselves, become natural community agencies, as churches of the small town must be, and as the family churches of the great city generally are not. It is highly important that all churches geographically identified with minor centers should undertake practical forms of service which this relationship indicates. This they can do without parting from their essential residential characteristics. They are simply evolving an environmental sub-type under the general head of residential church.

3. *The Church of the Suburban Center*

Suburbs that are distinct communities frequently have centers with still more pronounced social significance than those of the minor centers. The churches attached to such centers derive a special typical character from them. Suburban churches are invariably of the family type and frequently not beyond the average in size. They differ, nevertheless, by the fact that they are functionally related to a distinct local unit of limited size within which they are looked upon and expected to function as community institutions. This differentiates them from a family church serving an undefined area in the city, overlapping the parishes of other churches and not attempting any specific localized responsibility. The churches under consideration, in other words, are more definitely characteristic parts of the communities to which they belong. This marks them out as another sub-type of the residential type.

4. *The Upper Middle-Class Church*

The study of local churches by schedules, as set forth in a preceding section, simply demonstrates that there are variations in detail as to administration, facilities and program within the typical family church group. It should now too be pointed out that these variations generally reflect the passing of the church from one social level to another, thus distinguishing sub-types.

The upper middle-class church has possibly ten examples in the city, answering to the following description: They average about 500 in membership, and they employ an assistant pastor or a parish worker and a church secretary. They pay salaries of from $3,000 to $4,500. In addition to the facilities of the middle-class church, they will have a well-appointed church office, generally open every day, for engagements, for correspondence, and for publicity, with facilities such as an addressograph and a duplicating device. They will very likely have a drinking fountain for the children and a

gymnasium for the young people. Frequently they will advertise by the use of an electric sign.

In addition to the organizations of the typical middle-class church they will have mission study classes, a system of organized welcome, an orchestra or band, a parents' organization for the consideration of problems of childhood and youth, a woman's cultural club in addition to the proverbial aid and mission society, together with such provisions for recreation as dramatics, etc.

The broader program of these churches will include lectures and concerts, inter-church athletics, under some circumstances a Daily Vacation Bible School and occasionally a kindergarten and classes in music or domestic arts.

These churches are found almost entirely in the better residential sections of the West End and the South Side. They are characterized by enterprise and belief in the efficacy of organization. They advertise, they promote; they are the typical churches of the successful business classes.

5. *The German-American Church*

Within the various classes of family churches of the residential type, a distinction has already been suggested between the churches of German-speaking origin and the "American churches."

This distinction applies in the main only as between German-speaking churches in their older locations and the general family type. Migration, in most cases, finally Americanizes a church. It has become almost a proverb in St. Louis that one cannot carry the German language west of Grand Avenue. Nevertheless foreign language preaching, emphasis on the parochial school rather than the Sunday school, and the vestiges of the parish system, together with a residual tendency to solidarity in the nationality group, still somewhat differentiate the family church of German-speaking origin from the main type of St. Louis Protestant churches.

6. *The "Leading" Churches*

There is a real functional difference between a merely large and prosperous church and one to which historical prestige has somehow become attached as the cathedral church of its denomination in the city. Mere size is not a ground of functional distinction. The leading churches of the city do not actually have a wider program than some of the upper middle class churches or the churches of the community serving type. It would be ignominious to suggest that greater wealth as such (if they have it) gives them a different status.

On the other hand, every one recognizes that there are ten or a dozen churches to which the term "leading churches of the city" attaches, and that this term means something specific. They have, for example, generally more to do with general denominational affairs. Their pastors stand in a multiplicity of relationships to institutions and movements outside of their own parishes. Their laymen have traditional places on boards of trustees of denominational colleges and philanthropic institutions. These opportunities for wider service come to the churches because of their prestige and able membership and help to fix the tradition that they are the leading churches. By reason of their more all-around functioning in denominational and city-wide affairs and the greater part they play in national and world-service, they must be recognized as a fairly well-marked type.

Another, and possibly less creditable, ground of distinction must be noted. While the upper middle-class churches tend to have elaborate parish programs and to make the church house the social club of their members, the "leading" churches do not always do so. This may perhaps be because some of their members do not desire to develop social relationships too fully through the church. They may prefer the more exclusive circles of the élite beyond the sphere of religious fellowship. In other words, they are above the parish club-house level and do not wish the church to do for them what the upper middle-class church does for its members. This, again, constitutes a real functional difference between types.

When the Protestant church seeks to serve population below the middle-class level, the stress of specific social problems begins to fix its types quite definitely. There is no general type corresponding to the industrial environment, and in St. Louis, strangely enough no church whose character is strongly colored by the impulse of industrial solidarity. There are rather several well-marked methods used by organized religion in dealing with different kinds of needy neighborhoods or groups of people.

7. *Community Serving Churches*

In contrast with institutional philanthropy as expressed in hospitals, children's and old people's homes, the "other work" accounted for in the summary of Protestant philanthropy (page 157) is chiefly that of social service by certain distinctly community serving churches.

All churches measurable serve their communities, and it is difficult to delimit the type exactly. However the Public Welfare Department of the city, and the Community Council, representing the coöperating social agencies, have at different times enumerated those

churches which they thought deserving of such classification from the standpoint of fulfilling definite social service functions. The following data are based upon ten churches judged by the Survey most clearly to fall within this classification as follows:

Name	*Denomination*
Caroline Mission	Evangelical
Trinity	Methodist Episcopal
Kingdom House	Methodist Episcopal South
Boyle Center	Presbyterian, U. S. A.
Markham Memorial	"
Greely Memorial	"
Christ Church Cathedral	Protestant Episcopal
Holy Communion	"
Holy Cross	"
St. Stephens	"

To these are to be added Wesley House Methodist Episcopal, and the First Italian Baptist Church which, though operating on a less ample scale, have large social service activities.[1]

Eleven of the twelve churches above enumerated have a body of regularly organized communicant members, carrying on an ordinary church life with typical Protestant services, in addition to their community serving activities. Wesley House is a Christian neighborhood center without an organized church nucleus.

The chief executives of the twelve institutions, except in the case of Wesley House, are men who exercise the office of pastor.

Eight of these churches have paid male members of their staffs other than the pastor, but it is not possible in most cases to distinguish completely between the time given to strictly religious functions and that given to social service.

These male workers include several "assistants," one boys' worker and three industrial employees, all giving full time. The part-time workers apparently fluctuate in the amount of service rendered. They are frequently college and theological seminary students. Their work is most largely that of leadership of physical or musical activities.

All of the community serving churches employ paid women workers; five have only one such worker in addition to the pastor; the others from three to five each.

The women paid workers giving full time number twenty-five, including deaconesses, visitors, secretaries, girls' workers, kindergartners, and nursery matrons. The first two classes appear to work in both the religious and social field while the others do specialized work. There are also four part-time paid workers.

1 The activities of these twelve churches have been rechecked as of Jan., 1922.

The organizations of the community serving churches mainly follow the typical lines of the family church though supplementing them somewhat. Few of these organizations grow directly out of peculiarities of the field or have as their primary purposes the improvement of neighborhood conditions.

Men's organizations are reported only in the four Episcopal churches, all of which have Brotherhoods of St. Andrew. It is known, however, that several of the churches have had men's clubs at various times with changeful fortunes. All the churches, except the Italian Baptist, report women's organizations, totaling thirty and divided as follows:

Women's Missionary Society	6
Women's Aid Society	6
Mother's League	10
The Women's Guild	5
Other Women's Organizations	3

Only five churches report organizations including both men and women. Three of these are parents' associations, one a Sunday afternoon club, and one, an informal discussion group.

The standard denominational young people's organizations appear in seven churches together with two groups of employed boys organized as a phase of Y. M. C. A. activity and four other young people's clubs, the exact nature of which is unspecified.

JUNIOR ACTIVITIES

The following children's organizations are found:

Boys' Club	6	
Boy Scouts	5	
Total		11
Girls' Clubs	12	
Girl Scouts	1	
Camp Fire Girls	3	
Total		16
Junior Christian Endeavor or Mission Organizations including both girls and boys		14
Total Children's Organizations		41

All of the community serving churches are open daily.

None of them have dormitories, homes or any type of housing operated under their auspices. Five maintain milk stations; five employ visiting nurses; seven have clinics as follows:

General Clinics	4
Children's and General Clinic	1
Women's and Children's Eye, Ear, Nose and Throat Clinic	1
Eye, Ear, Nose and Throat Clinic	1

They also operate three dispensaries, and seven of the twelve carry on specific classes for health instruction. Other educational activities for children are:

Kindergartens and Under-age Schools	9
Summer Daily Vacation Bible Schools	8
After School or Saturday Classes (generally combining sewing, domestic science and handcraft with Bible instruction)	12
Confirmation Classes	5
Story Hour	1

The following classes for adults are in current operation:

English	5
Domestic Science and Housekeeping	7
Sewing or Millinery	12
Music	8
Mission Study	6
Arts and Crafts	2
Folk Dancing	1

Of other organized cultural activities there are nine choruses (generally also functioning church choirs) and two bands or orchestras. Eight churches habitually give concerts through the year, and all twelve report lectures, though it is not clear whether these are primarily means of money-making or purposeful, helpful and educational means of distribution to the community.

Economic assistance is approved through the community serving churches in the following ways:

Day Nurseries	5
Employment Bureaus	5
Occasional Relief in Food, Clothes or Money	12

Eight of the community serving churches have playgrounds of large or small extent and nine reported themselves as having gymnasiums. Systematic recreational activities are reported as follows:

Organized Sports, chiefly baseball or basket ball	11
Organized Children's Play	7
Dramatics	7

In addition to these, one church maintains a summer camp and two have farms. Most of them are in active relations with denominational philanthropies such as hospitals, children's homes and homes for the aged.

COMMUNITY SERVICE FACILITIES

The plant and physical equipment through which the community serving churches of St. Louis do their work is evidence that various phases of their adaptation to the particular needs of their neighborhood have been discovered one at a time and provided for piecemeal, frequently by makeshift methods. The only building manifestly designed for the present program is that of the Good Will Industries, operated by Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church. The religious, recreational and health functions of the Trinity enterprise, on the other hand, are housed in an old type city church building with excellent provision for preaching services but utterly unadapted to modern Sunday school work or any of the other activities which it is attempted to carry on in it. This is typical of the general situation in regard to property.

Schuyler House, attached to Christ Church Cathedral, is a well-designed parish house for ordinary church activities. The swimming pool with its appurtenances, in a roughly excavated space under the buildings, is not only cramped in size but without adequate height or window openings for proper ventilation. Some of the community serving churches have buildings designed to meet the conditions of the work as it was understood at the date of their erection, but none has anything like a representative plant for social work if judged by typical enterprises of other cities of the same size. Judged by ordinary Y. M. C. A. standards, the gymnasium and other recreational facilities are nowhere up to par. Judged by public school standards, rooms used for educational purposes are deficient in provision for light, ventilation and equipment. Compared with the plants of the leading churches of the city which serve as club-houses for their members, the community serving churches are expected to do a larger and more varied work with probably less than one-tenth of the investment in the plant and facilities.

An exception to this general rule should be noted in the case of four of these institutions: Kingdom House, Holy Cross House, Holy Communion Church and Wesley House have grounds of sufficient size for outdoor activities and constitute a definite addition to the recreational facilities of their neighborhoods.

The atmosphere of the community serving churches is one of laborious faithfulness rather than of demonstrable achievement. They show a keen sense of and sympathy with the immediate problems with which they are dealing, but they probably have less consciousness of the fundamental social issues of modern urban life than is needed for coöperation with the total constructive forces of their immediate neighborhood and of the city. They appreciate to

At the City's Center, Third Baptist

On the New Industrial Frontier Old Arlington Street Methodist Episcopal South

A Prosperous Church, St. John's Evangelical

South Side and West-End, Hamilton Avenue Christian

Mission Stockyards District, Epiphany Protestant Episcopal

The Cathedral of the "Wild Religions," Lighthouse Mission, Holiness Association

SIX CITY CHURCHES

First Italian Baptist

Boyle Memorial Presbyterian

Bethlehem Congregational

Wesley House, Methodist Episcopal

Exhibit of Garments and Furniture renovated by the Good Will Industries

Day Nursery Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church

THE REMNANTS OF THE PAST AND THE HOPE OF THE FUTURE

Special Car to the Farm

Outdoor Services

TRINITY CHURCH OUTING FARM

some degree that their forms of service should be specifically adapted to their neighborhoods, but they have little means of demonstrating their moral confidence that service to the community can and will succeed in an objective sense as well as in the Christian consciousness of spiritual reward for devoted service. That they are asked to do their work with physical plants and facilities much less suitable than even those of the poorer middle-class churches does not tend to encourage them. They have apparently not succeeded in impressing upon the St. Louis churches as a whole that they are doing in the neediest environments the common work of Protestantism in behalf of the entire city.

TECHNICAL STANDARDS

The recognition of these churches by the City Welfare Department and the Community Council as belonging to the responsible group of social agencies has already been indicated. The corollary of such recognition is the right of the agencies that evaluate and make standards of social work to criticize the community serving churches from that standpoint. Having undertaken to render recognized types of service, they are under obligation to do the work as well as other agencies similarly engaged, and at least to observe the minimum requirements fixed both by the social conscience and to an increasing extent by law. Reports of the Department of Public Welfare have attempted to rank these institutions according to the value of their work from a social standpoint, and an expert study of social agencies made in 1918, by Mr. Francis McLean, of New York, includes criticisms of most of them individually as well as of the entire group.

In both cases it is pointed out that there is an overlapping of fields both in the foreign quarter on the north side of survey District III, and in the Slavic section of District II B. The critics do not presume to suggest any limitation to the religious activities of the community serving churches; but it is natural for responsible social agencies to feel that overlapping in the provision of clinics, nurseries, milk stations and the like is intolerable, especially if such activities are administered with some degree of the competitive spirit, and if at the same time other parts of the city are flagrantly neglected.

The lack of thorough investigation and of coöperation with other agencies in cases of family relief is a second point criticized in the McLean report. The fact that relief is given by all the community serving churches was substantiated afresh in January, 1922. At the same time the authorities of the Provident Association and of

the Social Register declared that no one of the churches was cooperating systematically and fully from the standpoint either of investigating the cases applying for physical relief or of reporting the relief given so that it might not be duplicated by others.

Thirdly, an observer like Mr. McLean familiar with other American cities was compelled to observe a striking lack of nonsectarian neighborhood spirit receiving expression in various cooperative projects for local improvement, and also a lack of activities inclusive of all types of the population. It is nowhere easy for an institution with a denominational label to function as a neighborhood center for all sorts and conditions of people. More might be done in this direction, however, than has been done in St. Louis. The failure of the community serving churches to rally the forces of the neighborhood for its own advancement must be regarded as striking.

Fourthly, a lack of democracy in the conduct of such social work as is undertaken has been widely noted. The clubs and organizations enumerated in a preceding paragraph show how generally conventional religious molds have been followed and denominational nomenclature used. The most successful community centers, on the contrary, encourage initiative in the groups using them to organize and name their own clubs and activities and to exercise a maximum of freedom in their conduct. This is notably not the genius of the St. Louis community serving churches in their approach to neighborhood groups.

The McLean report called attention to a number of lapses from proper minimum standards of sanitation and safety, particularly in day nurseries and other arrangements for children. None of these lapses is fundamental, nor do all of them together detract from the fact of magnificent service to needy people. They do, however, raise a question both as to the adequacy of the plant for the work undertaken, and as to the competence of the staff in size and training. The Survey agrees that the above judgments are generally applicable, more paint, more scrubbing, more supervision and more experts on the job are necessary to make community serving churches fully creditable to the great city which they represent. Only in a few instances is the staff of the community serving church actually housed in a building connected with the plant, or in the same district with the people whom it is trying to serve. To identify one's self with the fortunes of the people, to live in the same environment with them and to show them how to make the best of life under such conditions would seem to lie close to the heart of really effective service.

A PROGRAM OF IMPROVEMENT

To realize their full possibilities as a type, the community serving churches need to develop a more precise policy of adaptation and of localized coöperation as indicated by the following points:

(1) They should study, list and analyze the community needs. Unless competent sociological knowledge is available within the church or unless the supervisory and coöperative agencies of the city are in a position to furnish such knowledge and to see that their plans are followed, a church should not undertake a social program. The fundamental basis for believing that it is religiously called to serve in that way must be found in its ability really to ascertain and interpret what needs to be done in community life.

(2) The community church should then check off all the needs which are fully met by existing agencies. In the realm of religion, conscience does not yet seem to condemn competition; in the realm of social service, however, it should be intolerable.

(3) The church should coöperate with the responsible social agencies in the profound conviction that no social need is adequately met without religion. Churches are needed inspirationally, though not everywhere institutionally.

(4) Toward community needs which are only partially met by existing agencies, the church may take one of two attitudes: it may become the initiating and promoting agency to secure the proper performance of the function by whatever in the end is found to be the best agency to undertake it; or

(5) The church may accept the responsibility, provided it is competent to do so. No new responsibility should, however, be undertaken unless measures to carry it out are available, including financial support, adequate staff and equipment.

(6) Standard economic requirements on these points should be worked out for the community serving churches by the denominational agencies, the Church Federation and the Community Council of Social Agencies. All parties should then agree to bring the present community serving churches up to this standard without delay and to start no new ones which cannot meet the standard. The standard should, of course, be progressive, and time programs should be adopted within which its higher requirements should be realized.

(7) In the housing of community service activities, particularly in such matters as fire protection and the lighting and heating of school rooms, the best current expression both of public conscience and of legal requirements must be met. At the present time St.

Louis offers scarcely an example of a community serving church having facilities that would be tolerated in a new public school.

(8) The cost of adequate enterprises must be estimated on this basis. It is absurd to imagine that a community serving church in one of the most difficult districts of the city can really do its work at a smaller cost than is incurred by the upper middle-class church. The outstanding examples of religious community houses in other cities are comparable only to the large city buildings of the Young Men's Christian Association. St. Louis must revolutionize her financial standards with regard to these matters, or cease to delude herself with the idea that she is doing creditable community work.

(9) The financing of community enterprises on the scale required must necessarily draw upon city-wide sources.

(10) The fundamental financial problem should not be presented as one of benevolence. It is merely a question of getting the church people of the city to live and think like city people financially. The members of the great uptown churches are citizens of the entire city. They prove this by their multiform social and business connections; they are treated as such by all major commercial enterprises. They erect expensive church plants for their own immediate neighborhoods. In religion, however, they have not yet developed a metropolitan conscience, especially as related to finance. This they must do before the community serving churches can begin to meet their fundamental problem, namely, that of really equalizing religious opportunity in all sections of the city.

8. *The Church of the Foreign Group*

When a community serving church is operated as a neighborhood institution for some non-English speaking groups it takes on certain necessary variations which constitute it a subtype. It exhibits an extreme group solidarity, and can hardly help reflecting the clannishness of its constituency.

The First Italian Baptist Church is perhaps the only surviving example in St. Louis of a Protestant foreign-language church still in so elementary a stage of development. There have been many such churches among the older foreign-born groups, but most of them have now passed into the hands of the second and American-born generation, and have come to have English as a parallel, if not as the chief language of religious services. It has seemed fair, therefore, to classify most of the churches which still maintain preaching in German or in one of the Slavic tongues merely as variants of the prevailing middle-class family type, and to limit the

designation of "Foreign Group" to the churches of the relatively new and unassimilated foreigners.

9. *The Neighborhood Center*

This type of organization is represented in St. Louis by Wesley House alone. Its principal characteristic is that it carries on community serving activities without having an organized church at its core. It is a small Christian settlement operated by the Methodist Episcopal Church in District IX, and illustrates a scale and range of work of which there might well be more examples. Though under denominational auspices, the absence of the ecclesiastical machinery of an organized church gives it free opportunity to become a servant of all sorts and conditions of men in its neighborhood.

10. *The Gospel Hall*

Next to the family-church type in numbers, comes the group of sporadic religious organizations which stress individual evangelism and emotional experience rather than social service. This class of organization is typically represented by the various phases of the holiness and faith-healing sects, with their gospel halls, and by sundry spiritualist movements which express in a different way the same individualism, informality and lack of complete ecclesiastical organization.

It is a challenging and indeed shocking discovery that there are so many examples of these wild religious tendencies in St. Louis, and that so many of the humbler and newer people of the city are actually receiving from them a poor and unnourishing imitation of the Bread of Life. These vagrant forms of Protestantism constitute the share of St. Louis in that seething, unregulated and untamed stream of emotional religion which, with its overwrought stress upon bodily healing and spiritual mysteries, constitutes the spiritual underworld of our day. The churches of this type are of the most inchoate sort. They are forever changing their names, dividing, reorganizing, consolidating, dropping out of existence and appearing again in some new guise. Many of them profess the mystical gift of tongues, but these are not harder to understand than are their vagaries and unstable fortunes. The Church of the Plymouth Brethren, Church of the Living God, Church of God in Christ, Pentecostal, Pillar of Fire, Apostolic Holiness—these are some of the names under which this common phenomenon flares up.

The leader of a church of this type is generally uneducated and

frequently self-appointed. He takes his orders from the Almighty alone. The finances of his movement are indefinite, depending largely upon his collections. The typical place of meeting is a "Gospel Hall," usually in a rented business building or during the summer in a tent or an out-door pavilion or tabernacle. This latter tendency reflects in an interesting way the rural origin of much of this type of religion. Even when churches of this kind are housed in permanent buildings, there are, in a number of cases, sheds in the adjoining yard where meetings are held in the summer. These sheds are the scarcely disguised urban equivalents of the booth of tree trunks and brushwood hastily erected for the backwoods revival. The habitat of these churches is peculiarly where the rural newcomer, the foreigner and the very poor are settled. Frequently there are Sunday schools for the children and some gathering for the women of the movement, together with occasional social gatherings. Every night evangelism is the rule.

In attitude, the wild religionists are dogmatic, perhaps conceited, critical, and impatient with others. They are generally non-coöperative. Nevertheless, more than once they have put to shame the churches of the more cultured and prosperous by a splendor of simple faith and fundamental appreciation of the character of Jesus. Somehow these folks must be reckoned with among the Protestant forces, constituting, as they do, at least one-fifth of the Protestant organizations in the city. Besides, great multitudes of humble believers find in them their only congenial religious home in St. Louis.

11 *and* 12. *The Slum Family Mission and the Rescue Mission*

The rescue mission for homeless individuals differs from the slum family mission in that it exists primarily for the floaters of humanity who have fallen below family relations, frequently into lives of extreme poverty and shame. In St. Louis this type is often joined with the mission to the handicapped family-group, the members of which have not yet fallen so low as to be beyond the pale of domestic relations. Sometimes, as in the Sunshine Mission, the main emphasis is upon the needs of migratory men, although there is a Sunday school with other church work in addition. The Asher Mission, on the other hand, is definitely of the family type.

13. *The Historic Downtown Churches*

In close proximity to the homes and haunts of submerged individuals and depressed families stand churches whose typical char-

acteristic is that they represent a noble past. Christ Church Cathedral and the Centenary Methodist Episcopal Church, South, are the chief examples in St. Louis of this type. Their natural constituency has largely removed, but they gather city-wide congregations. The particular sanction that keeps them on their present sites is sentimental rather than practical. They are not without important local influence, but this is not their main reason for being where they are. There are strong grounds for holding that the service they perform is of the greatest strategic importance. They are standing under great difficulty for the idea of permanence in religion in its Protestant expression and for the supremacy of religion in human affairs. Neither has anything like the fortunate situation of Trinity Church in New York City, but both have high value in that they represent Christianity commandingly in the very teeth of trade and industry and in spite of very great changes of environment.

14. *The Church of the Popular Center*

The Third Baptist Church represents a partial adaptation of its functions to the needs of the great popular amusement center at Grand Avenue, in the midst of which it stands. There is ample justification here for a church of the moving masses, which shall make a religious approach to them, comparable to that made by the theaters and other recreational agencies. In the main these masses consist of adolescents and young people not as yet placed in permanent homes. Adjacent is a large population living in boarding and rooming houses, whose average stay under a given roof is declared by local pastors to be not more than two weeks. Grand Avenue is also a growing center for transient hotel population. This convergence of the most mobile elements of city life furnishes an ample constituency for one or more churches specializing in the needs of people of these types. Though a group of supporting families might serve as its nucleus, such a church would be distinctly and functionally a church of the popular center.

15. *The Rural Church in the City*

At a good many points on its circumference the political boundary of St. Louis adjoins or includes rural territory. At some of these points are situated churches essentially of the rural village type, ministering to constituencies largely engaged in agriculture. However modified the rural psychology may have become it is this psychology that they reflect more than any urban environmental influence.

SUMMARY

A summary of the preceding section shows the following types of St. Louis churches:

A. Types of Churches Based Directly Upon Environments

Residential	*At Major Urban Centers*	*Rural*
In undifferentiated territory	The church of the popular center	The rural church in the city
At minor urban centers		
At suburban centers		

B. Types of Churches Based Upon Social Levels

Middle Class	*Above Middle Class*	*Below Middle Class*
The middle-class family church	The upper middle-class church	The foreign language group church
	The "leading" church	The slum family mission
		The rescue mission

C. Types of Churches Based Upon Method Showing Adaptations to Environment at Social Levels

Upon Social Service	*Upon Individual Evangelism*
The community serving church	The gospel hall
The neighborhood center	

D. Types of Churches Based Upon Attitudes or Psychological Considerations

Arising in the Past	*Contemporary*
The historic down-town church	The nationality church

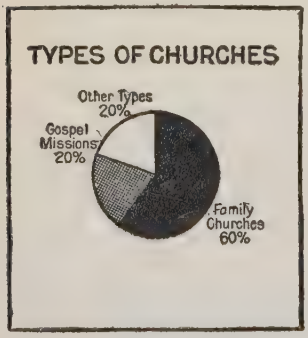


Chart 31

The great majority of city churches are of the ordinary, undistinguished, middle-class, family type.

A review of these varied types of St. Louis churches discloses as the first outstanding discovery that the great majority, at least three-fifths of the total, are small middle-class family churches, 38 per cent. of which are of German-speaking origin; also that the second largest class, constituting one-fifth of the whole, is of the Holiness Mission type. The other functionally distinct churches, even when fairly well marked, have developed less by self-conscious or deliberate adaptation of aim to ends than instinctively or imitatively. They have, in the main, simply reflected their people without special analysis of their distinct needs.

The less developed types scarcely admit to themselves what is the logic of their position or what they are really for. The whole story is a cry for further adaptation and more exact and precise development of the specific methods and activities which will meet the varied needs of so great and changeful a city.

Chapter VII

ST. LOUIS SUNDAY SCHOOLS AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

The Sunday Schools

The study of St. Louis Sunday schools, summarized in the following pages, is based upon schedules received from eighty-two schools well distributed throughout the city and thoroughly representative of all Evangelical denominations.[1]

The eighty-two schools reporting constitute about 40 per cent. of the total Protestant Sunday school body. Only forty-two schools, however, furnish fully comparable data. The complete generalizations therefore rest upon data received from these schools, which constitute a more limited basis than could be desired. Whenever possible, however, the scattering returns from the larger number of schools are included.

ENROLLMENT

The Church Federation reports a total enrollment of 58,973 Sunday school pupils in 184 of the 199 churches regularly reporting to it. These churches constitute about 90 per cent. of the total Protestant strength. On this basis, a total of 62,000 is estimated as the enrollment of all Protestant Sunday schools on January 1, 1922.

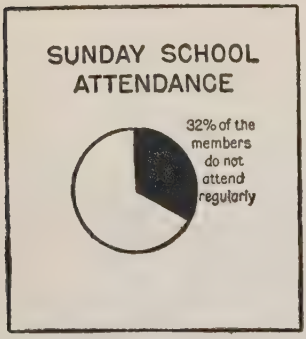


CHART 32

Attendance, not enrollment, measures the effectiveness of the Sunday school.

Subtracting from the Church Federation's total 278 pupils reported in mission Sunday schools, leaves 58,695, an average enrollment of 319 per church.

A much fairer sense of characteristic size is obtained by studying the distribution of Sunday schools according to size-groups. This is shown in Table XX.

The typical school has from 100 to 300 pupils, almost one-half of the total

[1] See Appendix, page 311.

number falling within this range. Only a little more than one-third have over 500 pupils, and only six schools enroll more than 800.

TABLE XX — ENROLLMENT BY SIZE-GROUPS IN 184 ST. LOUIS SUNDAY SCHOOLS

Size-Group of School	*Number of Schools*	*Per cent. of Distribution*
Total	184	100.0
Less than 100	19	10.3
Less than 50	*3*	*1.6*
50–99	*16*	*8.7*
100–199	43	23.4
100–149	*24*	*13.1*
150–199	*19*	*10.3*
200–299	43	23.4
200–249	*28*	*15.2*
250–299	*15*	*8.1*
300–399	29	15.8
400–499	18	9.8
500–599	9	4.9
600–699	9	4.9
700–799	8	4.3
800–899	2	1.1
900–999	2	1.1
1,000 and over	2	1.1

OFFICERS AND TEACHERS

For the fifty-eight schools reporting on the item of officers and teachers there is an average of seven officers and twenty-five teachers, together with an average of 3.2 supply teachers, available for each school. Here again, however, the few large schools pull the average above the actually representative figure. The most typical school has from four to five officers and from fifteen to twenty classes.

ATTENDANCE

For the forty-two schools reporting there is an average attendance of 68 per cent. of the enrollment. This means that of the more than 60,000 pupils enrolled in the St. Louis Sunday schools about 42,000 will probably be in attendance upon a given Sunday, while 20,000 whose names are on the roll will not actually be present. Public education has ceased to measure schools in terms of enrollment and has substituted measurement by actual attendance. Is it not time for Sunday school statistics to concern themselves primarily with pupils in Sunday school and not pupils with names on Sunday school books? From the standpoint of average attendance there is no school in St. Louis of more than 700 pupils.

Thirty-two schools reported fluctuation in enrollment and in attendance on four successive Sundays as follows:

Sundays	*Enrollment*	*Per cent. Increase or Decrease*	*Attendance*	*Per cent. Increase or Decrease*
First	9,936	..	6,988	..
Second	9,954	.002	7,422	6.2
Third	10,023	.007	7,318	—1.4
Fourth	10,042	.002	7,530	2.97

The very slight fluctuation in enrollment indicates, of course, that there is no continuous revision in Sunday school rolls in accordance with any strict theory. This rate of change would not account for the difference in enrollment as reported in the beginning and at the end of the year. Doubtless pupils enter more largely at some seasons than at others; but doubtless also books are revised at irregular intervals only and not from Sunday to Sunday.

The fluctuation in attendance is less than is frequently experienced. The four Sundays covered by the record must have been similar in weather conditions.

AGE-GROUPS

Only twenty-two schools reported distribution of their enrolled pupils by age-groups in terms comparable with those used in the household survey. The results are shown in Table XXI:

TABLE XXI—DISTRIBUTION BY AGE-GROUPS OF ENROLLED PUPILS IN ST. LOUIS SUNDAY SCHOOLS (A) FOR 22 SCHOOLS REPORTING BY SCHEDULE, (B) ACCORDING TO THE HOUSEHOLD SURVEY.

Department	*Age-Groups*	*Enrollment (A)*		*Enrollment (B)*	
		Number	*Per cent.*	*Number*	*Per cent.*
Cradle Roll	Under 3 yrs.	731	11.0	454	3.4
Beginners	3–5	719	10.8	1,640	12.2
Primary	6–8	1,039	15.6	2,574	19.3
Intermediate	9–11	1,147	17.3	2,840	21.2
Junior	12–14	1,325	19.9	2,629	19.7
Senior	15–17	939	14.1	1,790	13.4
Young People	18–23	752	11.3	1,450	10.8

The two sources of information differ in that the Sunday school schedules report pupils' ages as entered on Sunday school record books; the household survey reports information received in the homes of the pupils themselves through a door-to-door canvass. Except for the difference of the figures for the cradle roll—no doubt due to the fact that many parents did not return children under three years old as either in or out of Sunday school—the cor-

respondence between the two results is strikingly close. The outstanding conclusion is that the St. Louis Sunday school is overwhelmingly the institution of the elementary school child, 54 per cent. at least of the enrollment falling within the age-groups covered by the elementary school.

GRADES AND DEPARTMENTS

Sixty-eight schools reported as to grading and departmentalization as follows:

4	schools, or	5.9	per cent.,	reported in	2	grades
6	"	"	8.8	"	"	3	"
7	"	"	10.3	"	"	4	"
11	"	"	16.2	"	"	5	"
13	"	"	19.1	"	"	6	"
18	"	"	26.5	"	"	7	"
9	"	"	13.2	"	"	8	"

More schools report six or seven grades than any other number, probably because the majority follow somewhat closely the International graded lesson system. The schools reporting only two or three grades are those that use special denominational systems and that departmentalize with only a small number of subdivisions. In the main there appears to be little tendency to organize the school according to any conscious educational idea. The grading is traditional.

The St. Louis schedules throw little light upon the actual departmentalization of the schools. There are, however, four schools reporting separate departments for boys and girls at the "teen" age and two having combined departments for this age-group.

Only eleven schools report home departments, with a total of 794.

Disregarding the peculiar organization of individual schools and taking only fifty-eight schools reporting under the following heads, which occur most frequently, the Survey found that the total classes were divided as follows:

Departments	*No. of Classes*
Beginners	101
Primary	200
Intermediate	237
Junior	200
Senior	102
Young People	67
Adult	67
Miscellaneous Designations [2]	367

2 In the main these represent the divergent scheme of Sunday school classification current in the more conservative churches of German origin.

In addition to the above there are fifty-eight cradle rolls. The small proportion of adult classes to the total is significant.

An overwhelming majority of schools use the International lessons, either uniform or graded, or the two in some combination, and the exceptions merely point denominational not educational distinctions. They are practically confined to the Evangelical and Lutheran schools, which use denominational lesson systems. There are but two reported cases of a lesson system other than the International or denominational systems, and only the slightest trace is found of supplemental classes in missions or social service.

The length of the Sunday school session ranges from forty-five to eighty minutes. Considerably more than one-half of the schools have the one-hour session, but more than one-fourth have the seventy-five minute session. The one-hour session in the majority of cases is divided as follows:

Worship	15	minutes
Class Instruction	30	"
Expressional Exercises	15	"

THE SUNDAY SCHOOL AS RELATED TO THE CHURCH

The question of the relation of the Sunday school to the church, of which it is properly a part, was reported on by forty-three schools and yields the following interesting generalizations: Less than one-third report absolute or formal control by the church, such control being frequently exercised through a special board. Generally, however, it is stated that the control by the church is merely nominal and that the Sunday school is virtually independent.

In about half the schools reported, the superintendent is elected directly by the church, and in one-fourth of the cases by some church board; for the remainder he is elected by the Sunday school itself or, very rarely, by the teachers. In about half he is left administratively independent; in the other half he is associated, in the selection of teachers and the conduct of the school, with the cabinet or a Sunday school board or with the pastor.

The tendencies above revealed serve to raise the question whether the St. Louis Sunday school is not in the main an organization parallel to the church rather than an integral part of a church system of religious education. The system of the week-day parochial school, still maintained by most of the Lutheran and many of the Evangelical churches, will receive comment in another connection, as will the daily vacation Bible schools and the special schools of the community-serving churches. The daily vacation Bible school is limited to the summer and to a small minority of churches. Only a

handful of churches report any year-round religious education except that given in the Sunday school. Those that do report any other kind, note generally a children's sermon. Few, however, have any stated recognition of childhood in connection with public worship.

TRAINING OF TEACHERS

Two-thirds of the St. Louis Sunday school teachers are women and girls. One-fourth of them have had some special training for their work, one-sixth are normal school or college graduates, but one-third are not even high-school graduates. One-fourth were reported as being in training classes at the time of the Survey. Twenty-eight schools reported such classes.

Nineteen schools reported teachers' meetings weekly; twenty-six, monthly; and thirteen less frequently.

In reporting the qualifications required in Sunday school teachers, the emphasis placed in the schedules upon character, natural ability and special training was about equal. One answer was—"Anything to get teachers"—indicating a state of mind with which many will sympathize, although none can approve it.

FINANCE

As a financial enterprise, the typical St. Louis Sunday school raises less than $500 annually. One-fourth of the Sunday schools report receipts of less than $250, and four-fifths of less than $1,000. Three-fourths of the Sunday schools report spending less than $500 each for their own operation. Most of this expenditure is for lesson helps and similar supplies. Three-fourths of the schools are entirely self-financing, while many help the local church and the majority contribute to some form of missions.

The percentage distribution of Sunday school income according to source is as follows:

Sunday school	91.5 per cent.
Entertainments	5.5 "
Local church	3.0 "

The percentage distribution of expenditures according to objects is:

Self-support	65.9 per cent.
Church	6.9 "
Other benevolences [3]	27.2 "

[3] Divided as follows: Community, 5.7 per cent., National, 3.0 per cent., Foreign, 2.5 per cent., Mixed, 16.0 per cent.

Special group organizations within, or chiefly related to, the Sunday school are reported as follows:

Organizations	*Number*	*Members*
Junior	15	673
Intermediate	15	573
Senior	21	1,170

Figures for seniors probably relate in the main to membership in denominational young people's societies. Seventeen Boy Scout troops are reported with an average of twenty-one boys per troop; and six girls' organizations, either of scouts or of camp fire girls, with an average membership of twenty-six. Very few schools record interscholastic athletic events. A larger number say they have an annual picnic. A very few conduct older girls' and boys' conferences, and scarcely any report examinations as a basis of Sunday school grading.

RECRUITS FOR THE CHURCH

Thirty-three schools report additions to the church from the Sunday school averaging twenty-eight per school for the year. The reporting schools, however, are very unevenly divided among the denominations and it is scarcely possible to regard them as fully representative. What the data seem to indicate is that, from the standpoint of formal accounting or definitely holding the Sunday schools responsible for recruiting church members, some denominations have a much more clear-cut policy than others. About 4,000 young Protestants pass any given mile-post of age every year. Whatever age is assumed by the several denominations as the proper one for a public confession of religious faith, there should be about this number of annual recruits for church membership from the Sunday school. In any method of keeping track of those for whom they are morally responsible, this would seem to be one of the most vital points for the churches concerned. At present neither the ordinary records of the churches nor the studies of the Survey are able to indicate even approximately what percentage of these rightful fruits of Sunday school work are actually saved to the churches.

SUMMARY OF THE SCHEDULES

A formal process of religious instruction of youth is carried on in connection with the St. Louis churches for a short time each week. It follows rather narrowly a set of traditional methods and

HANDWORK OF DAILY VACATION BIBLE SCHOOLS
Greely Memorial, Presbyterian

uses cut and dried materials of education. No evidence of adventurous originality appears anywhere along the line. The teachers are, for the most part, without special training. By comparison with its importance, the financial basis of the process is very narrow. Neither in its organization nor in its results is the relation of the Sunday school to the church well defined.

The picture of the typical St. Louis Sunday school as sketched has both the strength and the weaknesses of any result based on questionnaires. Manifestly it fails to interpret the spirit of the schools and does not include many of the fine but exceptional things which individual schools do, and which properly stand out in the memory. The Survey has attempted only to give an outline of what is actually characteristic from one end of the town to another and from year to year. It compels one to see the Sunday school in perspective. So viewed, this Sunday school is not on the whole impressive in members, in finance and equipment, or in the actual time devoted to religious education. Of the efficiency of its instruction and the earnestness with which the churches generally take it, the picture is less complete but perhaps not wholly flattering. The question may fairly be asked whether in its Sunday school work St. Louis Protestantism is really doing itself justice.

Other Elements in a System of Religious Education

St. Louis has perhaps developed means of religious education other than the Sunday school to a greater extent than most Protestant communities of similar character. These varied forms are many of them significant and require recognition before the sum total of religious education can be fairly appraised.

PAROCHIAL DAY SCHOOLS

This method of combining secular and Christian education is characteristic of the denominations of German-speaking origin and is still maintained to a large extent by the Lutherans. A few of the more conservative Evangelical churches also have parochial schools. The total number is perhaps twenty-five. Where they exist they constitute an important supplement to the Sunday school and greatly increase the length of time devoted to religious education under church auspices.

Under-Age Schools

Eight or ten of the community-serving churches and slum-family-missions maintain kindergartens or under-age schools as a

means of making contact with the families of the community. The content of instruction in these schools is largely religious.

The Daily Vacation Bible School

The contribution to religious education represented by the daily vacation Bible school has come to have conspicuous place in St. Louis. The school originated with, and is still most characteristic of, the community-serving churches in the needier neighborhoods. It has become naturalized also as a regular agency of the middle-class church. As a type of work it is unequally developed as among the denominations. Daily vacation Bible schools were reported during the summer of 1921 as follows:

Presbyterian	13
Baptist	9
Methodist Episcopal	4
Methodist Episcopal South	3
Evangelical	2
Congregational	1

These schools enrolled a total of more than 5,000 pupils and had a daily average attendance of more than 3,000. They were conducted with one exception, for five weeks and for five days a week. The curriculum is virtually the same in all schools, consisting of Bible instruction, including story-telling and memory verses, singing, craft work, kindergarten and supervised recreation.

Before-School and After-School Classes

As a hold-over from the daily vacation Bible school idea, some of the community-serving churches continue classes during the school year, for one or two nights a week, giving instruction in religion and handicraft.

The Survey made no study of the extent to which confirmation classes in the tenets of the Christian faith are systematically provided by the Protestant churches. They are known to be almost universal among the churches of German-speaking origin and are stressed by some other communions. The entire Protestant body is making increasingly systematic use of this means of religious instruction.

COMMUNITY TRAINING SCHOOL

The unique contribution of St. Louis to the training and religious education of workers is the Community Training School, conducted as a department of the Church Federation, and discussed in that con-

nection. It is conducted as a department of the Church Federation under the Commission on Religious Education. Its sessions are held for two hours each Monday night from October to June. The enrollment for 1922 was 601, which makes it rank as one of the largest enterprises of its kind in America. Students came from 107 churches of twelve denominations. Branches were conducted in Webster Groves and the Clifton Heights section at the extreme southwest edge of the city, and also at the colored branch of the Y. M. C. A. where thirty-one students are enrolled. The faculty numbered forty, and twenty courses were offered. The initial and enlarging success of the training school owes much to the chairman of the Commission on Religious Education. The very high level of educational work is due to the fact that leading pastors and scholars are giving their services as instructors, and to an exceptional principal.

The situation as a whole presents striking anomalies. With so signal an innovation as this Community Training School, and with such considerable development of novel forms of religious education outside of Sunday school, it is something of a surprise that the Sunday school itself is not more enterprising and original than it appears to be.

Again, while the entire situation shows that the makings of a Protestant system of religious education are present in somewhat unusual degree, it is equally evident that no system as such has yet arrived. The German tradition in the city furnishes a strong basis for such a system. The example of Kansas City—always a spur to St. Louis to do likewise—shows what can be done in the development of a system of week-day religious instruction by coöperation among the churches and coöperation of the churches with the public schools. The Religious Education Commission of the St. Louis Church Federation has developed and is attempting to finance plans to put into operation some experimental ventures in this line as first steps toward the development of a really inclusive Protestant system integrated with the total educational movement of the city.

Measuring the Problems of Religious Education

RESULTS OF THE HOUSEHOLD CANVASS

The household survey obtained data from 29,580 Protestant adherents under the age of twenty-four years as to their church and Sunday school relationship. This sample covers about three-tenths of the estimated total of Protestant adherents of this age and is

about one-half as large as the total current Sunday school enrollment.[4]

Fifty-seven per cent. of the adherents from whom data were obtained said that they were enrolled in Sunday school and 43 per cent. said they were not. The percentage, however, is without practical significance unless one makes an analysis of the individuals surveyed by age-groups, since the broad age-group below twenty-four years includes infants too young to be in Sunday school and younger married people not in a position to attend. The only way to determine whether the relationships of young Protestant adherents to the Sunday school are satisfactory is by finding out in just what years the given degrees of attendance and non-attendance fall.

The age-distribution of Sunday school pupils has already been given in Table XXI.

THE PRESENT SUNDAY SCHOOL A CHILDREN'S INSTITUTION

Fifty-four per cent. of the total enrollment falls within the ages six to fourteen, inclusive, which most nearly parallel the ages of children in the elementary school; while only 25 per cent. of the enrollment falls in the ages fifteen to twenty-four, inclusive. In other words, the Protestant Sunday school in approximately three-fourths of its membership is, as is commonly known, a children's and infant's institution.

Applying the age-distribution percentages to the total current Sunday school enrollment of 62,000, as shown on page 124, gives the following numerical age-distribution:

Age	*Percentage*	*Number*
Under 3	11.0	6,820
3–5	10.8	6,696
6–8	15.6	9,672
9–11	17.3	10,726
12–14	19.9	12,338
15–17	14.1	8,742
18–20	7.0	4,340
21–23	4.3	2,666

It is known from the census age-tables that there are more children under three than there are boys and girls between nine and eleven, or in any equal period in mid-childhood; yet only two-thirds as many are in Sunday school. It is also known that there are many more young men and women of from twenty-one to twenty-three, yet only one-fourth as many are in Sunday school. On the basis of

4 While data on Sunday school relations were sought from Catholic, Hebrew and unchurched populations, the results were too fragmentary for statistical use. The limitation of the Sunday school data to population declaring itself to be actively Protestant should be kept in mind.

an estimated white Protestant population of 91,648,[5] under twenty-four years there are 8,000 very young children out of Sunday school and more than 23,000 of later adolescents and young people.

As is generally known, the point at which pupils drop out of Sunday school is sharply marked between twelve and fourteen years, and the declining ratio beyond this point is very extreme.

Now any conclusion which may be drawn as to the proper status of the 8,000 below the age of six who are not in Sunday school

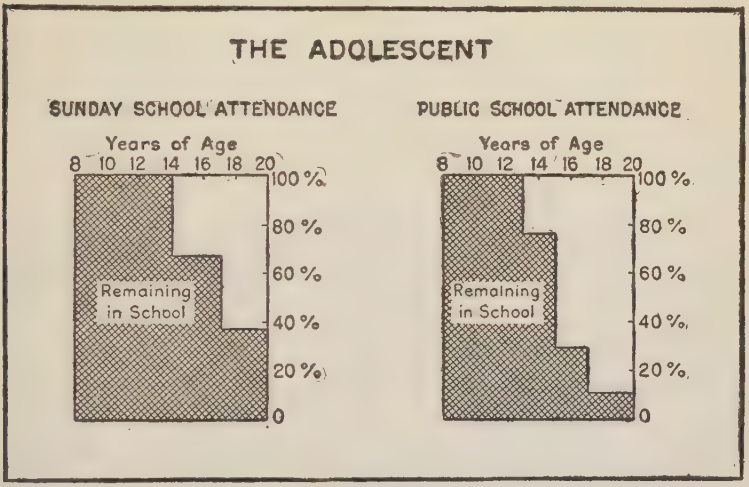


CHART 33

The Sunday school holds a larger proportion of its constituents of each age-group above fourteen than the public school holds of youth of legal school age.

depends upon what one really believes that the Sunday school is for and what it really ought to do with children of this age. There is a proper theory that all children of Christian homes should have their names entered upon the Sunday school cradle roll; and the current plans of the St. Louis Sunday School Association assume that there should be a kindergarten department for children under five. Practically, however, it is not possible to transport all children of such tender ages to and from Sunday school. Doubtless there is good reason for the enrolling of more children in some sort of attendance upon religious service or instruction than there are at present enrolled. In the case of very young children, however, the situation can hardly be regarded as seriously out-of-hand. Churches

5 This is 43.5 per cent. of the total white Protestant adherents as estimated on page 49. This is the ratio indicated by the census age-tables for St. Louis in 1910.

have only to grade their instruction suitably and persuade the parents who already have church connection to enroll and send their children.

The case of the 23,000 young people more than fourteen years of age who are out of Sunday school is very different. All thoughtful people are strongly persuaded that older adolescents are in particular need of religious guidance and expression, and that the practical relationships of urban young people of high-school age put them in greatest peril without the inspirations and restraints of the church.

The fact that there are fewer than three-fourths as many Protestant young people in Sunday school at the ages fifteen to seventeen than at the ages twelve to fourteen, that fully half of these drop out in the three succeeding years, and that the first three years of legal adulthood keep in the Sunday school only one-fifth of those who were enrolled in childhood, must be regarded as one of the most serious omens which the statistics reveal.

TYING UP THE CHURCH AND SUNDAY SCHOOL

The attempt to carry the Sunday school up into these later years of adolescence and early maturity is one part of the common problem of carrying over into church membership those who have been its adherents previously through the Sunday school. Custom at least makes church service an adult substitute for the Sunday school and there must be a process of transition from the one to the other.

This problem may be understood by assuming that the proper age for a public Christian confession and formal connection with the Church is between twelve and thirteen. This corresponds with the psychological experience of conversion and the traditional usage of many communions. On the basis of previous estimates, about 50,000 young Protestants are between the ages of twelve and twenty-four and ought, therefore, to be in church.

Only 40 per cent. are in church either as members or attendants. This leaves 60 per cent. of the total 50,000 Protestants more than twelve years of age who are not in church but who ought to be—a total of about 30,000 for the city of St. Louis.

Church allegiance and Sunday school allegiance overlap, however. Assuming all who were found in both church and Sunday school to be of proper church age of twelve or thirteen, the overlap is 20 per cent. of the adolescent group. Numerically speaking, there are about 10,000 adolescents and young people in both church and Sunday school, and 10,000 more in church but not in Sunday school.

Adding the 25,000 adolescents and young people in the Sunday school to the 20,000 in church and subtracting 10,000 who are in both leaves 35,000 who are in Sunday school or in church or in

both church and Sunday school. To this extent the church succeeds with its young adherents in one way or another. On the other hand it leaves some 15,000, or 30 per cent., with whom it fails. They have been in Sunday school but they are now neither in church nor in Sunday school.

The above calculation, based on ratios discovered by adequate samples through the household canvass, may be summarized:

PROTESTANT ADHERENTS BETWEEN THE AGES OF 12 AND 24

	Number	*Per cent.*
In Sunday school only	15,000	30
In church only	10,000	20
In church and Sunday school	10,000	20
In neither church nor Sunday school	15,000	30

The problem of St. Louis Protestantism with respect to its young adherents may, therefore, be formulated as follows: To hold in Sunday school a reasonable percentage of the 23,000 adolescents and young people once enrolled but now out of Sunday school; to get into the church as many as possible of the 30,000 not now attending church, and all of those attending church into full membership; and finally to get all of the 15,000 now in neither church nor Sunday school into one or the other or both.

THE SUNDAY SCHOOL AND THE CHILDREN OF THE UNCHURCHED

While the Survey did not directly discover the Sunday school relationships of the children of the unchurched, helpful approximations to the truth of the situation may be reached by different paths.

If the unchurched population of 179,000 shown in Chapter II had only the same proportion of Protestants that there are in the total religious population, the number would be some 80,000. Probably, however, it is fair for Protestantism to assume the larger proportion of the unchurched. Perhaps it is less exacting ecclesiastically than Catholicism. Probably also its possible appeal to the indifferent is somewhat broader. By a rough guess perhaps 96,000 is therefore a reasonable number of the unchurched for Protestantism to become responsible for.

On this basis the unchurched population under twenty-four years of age numbers some forty thousand. It will be most accessible in the years of middle childhood, from six to fourteen, in which years over 13,000 children of unchurched families are to be found. The winning of these children is a responsibility of Protestantism equal with that of conserving and confirming its own young adherents although a responsibility less carefully measured by the Survey.

Chapter VIII

ST. LOUIS PARISHES AND NEIGHBORHOODS

The Local Church and Its Sphere of Service

From how great a distance are people drawn to a church by its several activities? How far does the church go in carrying its ministry into their homes? These are fundamental factors conditioning real and efficient service.

The Survey will show the types of parish service-areas from the standpoints of distance and the direction of outreach; will offer statistical evidence of the proportions of each type as it exists in St. Louis; and will finally indicate the chief points at which the problems of efficiency and adequacy of service were found to arise.

It will then endeavor to discover within the parish the effective boundaries of the city neighborhood, and the nature of the ties that bind its people together; for it is by identification with these naturally coherent social units that the church can do its profoundest service for the city.

THE PROBLEM OF REGULAR ATTENDANCE

The Survey has undertaken to discover in a representative number of cases how far members come and how membership generally lies with reference to the central church locations.[1]

Again, the Survey has attacked the problem from the standpoint of only a part of a church's adherents: namely, its members, who constitute only about six-tenths of its adherents. Presumably they are the more solidly bound to the church, are less swayed by convenience and therefore less affected by distance.[2]

1 No attempt has been made to find out how often members come. How well the churches are actually serving is therefore a problem untouched in the present Survey, but one worthy to be of central importance in a later investigation.

2 The distance problems of the other classes of adherents—for example of Sunday school scholars—are equally important with those of church members; but lie outside the scope of the Survey. Special problems are presented by each of the organizations within the church. How often do members of the Sunday school, of the young people's society, of the women's organizations, etc., come to meetings of each over given distances? In other words, how well are they actually served? This also the present Survey did not investigate.

TYPES OF PARISHES

With reference to the distribution of members, the Survey studied 106 parishes, and secured actual maps for a large proportion of them, covering all typical cases. From the standpoint of distance it defined three types of parishes:

1. Compact parishes, having more than 75 per cent. of their membership within one mile.
2. Medium parishes, having from 50 to 75 per cent. within one mile.
3. Scattered parishes having less than 50 per cent. within one mile.

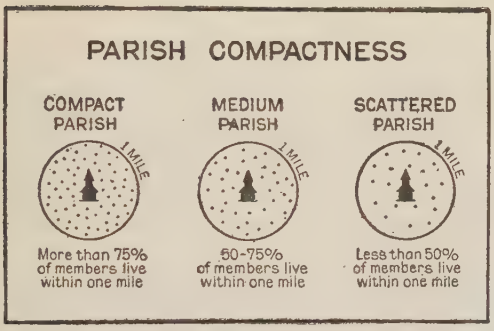


CHART 34

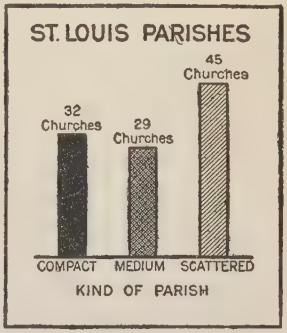


CHART 35

Types of parishes defined by the distance which church members live from the church building.

The 106 parishes were divided as follows:

Type	*Number*	*Per cent.*
Compact	32	30
Medium	29	27
Scattered	45	43

Twelve per cent. of those in the last-named group were very scattered. The extreme cases are the great city-wide churches; Christ Church Cathedral and the Third Baptist Church having respectively only 14 and 16 per cent. of their membership within one mile.

DISTANCE OF MEMBERS FROM THE CHURCH

While more churches tend to have a dispersed membership than to have a concentrated one, the actual majority of members live nearer to the church than the above facts would suggest. Out of

a total of 6,086 member-families in thirty-four churches whose parishes were actually mapped, slightly more than half live within a mile of their church. Their dispersion by half-mile zones appears in the following table:

TABLE XXII — DISTANCE FROM CHURCH BY ZONES OF 6,086 MEMBER-FAMILIES OF 34 ST. LOUIS CHURCHES

Distance Zones: By Miles	*Member-Families*	
	Number	*Per cent.*
½	1,900	31.2
1	1,153	18.9
1½	702	11.5
2	578	9.5
2½	366	6.0
3	451	7.4
3½	310	5.1
4	206	3.4
4½	148	2.4
5	101	1.7
5½	77	1.3
6	36	.6
6½	27	.4
7	15	.3
7½	10	.2
8	6	.1

Besides the fact that over half the member-families live within a mile of the church, it will be noted that an additional third live

CHART 36

This chart shows what per cent. of St. Louis church members live each a given number of miles from the church building.

between one and three miles, and that less than a twentieth live farther away than five miles.

Inasmuch as these churches are scattered in all parts of the city and are unequally served by transit facilities, it is impossible to tell the length of time required by members coming to them from any given distance. In general the three-mile limit within which most of the members live presumably corresponds approximately to a thirty-five-minute time-zone limit by street car.

Private ownership of automobiles has, of course, very greatly modified the problem of distance for the more prosperous church families, giving them greater mobility and greater range of choice as to their church homes. The cheapness of popular cars has brought down these advantages even to the family in moderate circumstances.[3]

THE PROBLEM OF DIRECTION

The problem of distance has been shown to be inextricably linked with that of transportation facilities. So also is the problem of direction. If a street-car line runs in one direction from the church but not in another the distance from which member-families may come will be much greater in the direction of the street-car service. The result will be an asymmetrical parish tending however to lie within equal time-zones; in other words under urban conditions the distance factor turns out to be a distance-time factor.

Within the limits of this principle, the natural tendency of membership is to distribute itself in all directions from the center. There are not, however, in St. Louis many cases in which such a distribution of church members is actually found; but the number is sufficient to prove the tendency. When the distribution of membership is uneven and the parish is lopsided it is obviously due to some obstruction or attraction.

The most obvious factors which deflect membership are physical barriers; the ones most frequently encountered in St. Louis being the river or the railroad yards and industries. These frequently cut off church expansion in one direction or more and force the church to seek an outreach in the different direction.

Populations differing in character from those to which the church chiefly ministers—such, for example, as solid communities of foreigners or Negroes—act to deflect parish lines just as physical barriers do. The general movement of population to the northwest in St. Louis has tended to scatter membership disproportionately in that direction. More than three-fourths of the asymmetrical parishes, as has been shown, overbalance toward that single quarter.

3 Further surveys in typical cities very much need to investigate statistically this influence to discover the number of families coming by private conveyance and the general influence of the automobile upon the dispersion of member-families.

This westward movement has been owing chiefly to the attraction exerted by more desirable residential areas.

The Survey has undertaken to study statistically the problem of direction as well as of distance. By the device of cutting the map of any parish into sectors it is able to express mathematically the parish's degree of variance from the symmetrical form.

By arbitrary definition, a symmetrical parish is regarded as one that has not more than 33 per cent. of its membership in any one quadrant. Of thirty-four churches studied, only four are this nearly symmetrical. The rest are lop-sided, many of them to an extreme degree. Of thirty having more than a fourth of their members in one quadrant seven went so far as to have more than

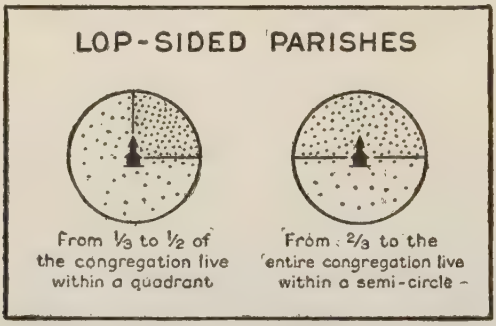

LOP-SIDED PARISHES
From 1/3 to 1/2 of the congregation live within a quadrant
From 2/3 to the entire congregation live within a semi-circle

CHART 37

One-fourth of the St. Louis churches have a large number of members massed in a single direction from the church building. One-half of them have more than two-thirds of their members living on one side of a line drawn through the church building.

one-half within the same limits. Eleven had more than three-quarters of their members on one side of a line drawn through the chart and only one-quarter on the other side.

This makes it apparent that great numbers of St. Louis churches are radically affected by obstructions or attractions of one sort or another. Probably this is true of a decided majority of them. The most general explanation, that the shape of the parish follows the general population movement, is subject to many minor modifications. Thus, neighboring churches having constituencies of different social grades may find their parishes pulled in different directions. What is an obstruction to one church, say a group of rural immigrants, need not be an obstruction to another. On the whole the trouble is that the regularly organized churches of the co-operating forces of the Protestant denominations are too much subject to the same attractions and repulsions. They are united in

the desire to escape from difficulties, to occupy the easiest territory and follow the nicest people.

BI-FOCAL PARISHES

By definition, a bi-focal parish is required to have 25 per cent. or more of its membership grouped in a single quadrant, and within a mile of one another, at a different center from the original church location. The one clear-cut case in the thirty-four parishes studied with complete maps was discussed in a previous connection. The tendency, however, to have perceptible clusters of members in areas separated from the central group, appears in a smaller degree in many cases. These points of concentration naturally indicate

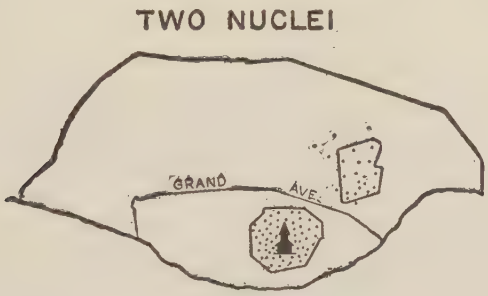


CHART 38

Most of the members of this church live below Grand Avenue but about one-fourth of them live in a contiguous neighborhood above Grand Avenue. This new nucleus may in time become the larger and pull the church building to it.

the focal points from the standpoint of church removal or of the dividing of the congregation and the establishment of a new church.

The Survey has gone only a very little way with the problems of interpretation in such parish studies. In the case of compact parishes, for example, it does not appear that the size of the church greatly affects the manner of its functioning. A church of one thousand members, 75 per cent. of whom live within a mile of the church, has essentially the same relation to this area as has a church of three hundred members with 75 per cent. living within a mile. Each in its measure naturally becomes a neighborhood center and is able to take up highly localized problems with the backing of a common interest in most of its members.

The parish that has a medium dispersion of membership, however, begins to show more radical differences between larger and

smaller churches. The large church, if composed of fairly mobile constituents, can serve them adequately and at the same time may help to influence a considerable area. Standing absolutely alone, its failure to find intensive connection with a single neighborhood would doubtless limit its usefulness; but if it were one of a cluster of churches, it might conceivably be a very large factor in the higher destiny of some whole section of the city.

Finally, the very scattered parish would seem in the case of the small church to present such difficulties as to make efficient service impossible. Such a church represents a desperate hanging-on, through denominational loyalty, to people who cannot possibly be satisfactorily served by such a church as a social institution. In a considerable number of such cases there is but one church of a denomination in a city. Its members must then necessarily come from a wide area; but its parish ministry cannot possibly be localized, nor can it carry out any intensive program. Whether, under these conditions, such a church is worth its cost to a denomination, must be determined afresh in each particular case.

A limited number of very large churches with city-wide parishes appears, on the other hand, to be entirely justifiable from the standpoint of strategy, as well as of actual success under urban conditions. The existence of these churches raises an unsolved problem with respect to the responsibility of their members in the localities in which the members live. Yet these churches are the outstanding examples of Protestantism, especially in its contrast with the immense Catholic churches and in its appeal to civic recognition and to transients in the city. A city-wide parish should undertake certain distinct, localized responsibilities. If it is justified in having a scattered membership, it may still need to have a compact Sunday school. The entire field needs proper investigation covering the relationships to the church of other adherents than members and the varying mobility of different elements of population.[4]

4 Some indication may perhaps be hazarded as to the lines which further studies should take. Perhaps a definite relationship would be found between the type of parish and the ratio between a church's losses and gains in membership. It might be shown that denominational tenacity, expressed in the scattered parish, does not really succeed: that in proportion to the members involved and the efforts and expense necessary to maintain, the losses are prohibitive. The Survey should find out also the failures of the great city-wide churches in serving their far-flung membership, as well as their successes. *There is need of an ecclesiastical theory of distance. Built up by scientific observation, such a theory would indicate the limits within which it is ordinarily profitable for a church of a given character and size to try to draw its membership in any large proportion.* Beyond such an established distance, there should be a presumption in favor of the transfer of members to some nearer church—first, of course, to some available church of the same denomination; otherwise to an Evangelical church of another denomination.

In the case of the distant member of the church of the city-wide parish, there is the problem of his responsibility to his own neighborhood. As has already been suggested, it may be right to hold him to a dual responsibility which, on the one hand, will not deprive him of his privilege of going far to gain superior advantages, but which will, at the same time, require him to act in his religious capacity as a neighbor to the people near whom he actually lives.

The parish studies do show that Protestant strategy must consider something more than that individual churches follow members wherever they go and hold them as long as possible. The principles of efficiency and of real religious service should dictate church relationships and not mere institutional loyalty. The safest rule for a church is that it give itself intensively to the religious cultivation of people in its immediate vicinity, from which, as the Survey has statistically determined, the majority of members actually come.

The Survey leads one to a profound appreciation of the average church. The discovery that the churches as a group are not as different as they ought to be, and that there needs to be much greater adaptation in some parts of the city and to the numerous populations not yet well handled by the church, does not conflict with the fact that the average church is handling the factors within its immediate control with a large measure of devotion and effectiveness. So long as the general lines of Protestant policy are what they are, it is not only natural but valuable for the churches as institutions to follow the line of least resistance and to seek advantage by keeping close to people whom they can get into membership with the least effort. At the same time they should steadily put the service of the localized parish first in their strategy and actual operations.

This conception of the church's localized responsibility clearly leads straight on to its first sphere of coöperative action. The usual and competitive overlapping of Protestant service-areas is a commonplace of knowledge amply illustrated by the Survey at every point. But within these centers of overlapping service if each church localizes more than in the past, will not the competition and crowding be all the keener? Manifestly yes, unless the churches all undertake their localized responsibility together. The study of the parish therefore connects directly with that of the localized coöperative adaptation of the city churches.

Neighborhood Religious Coöperation

LOCALIZED COÖPERATIVE ADAPTATION

No amount of coöperative purpose and machinery functioning merely for the city as a whole can bring working coöperation in the various neighborhoods into its city sub-divided. A central agency of the Federation is not enough. The churches of a given neighborhood cluster do not have to do with those at the other end of the city. They have very much to do with one another. The

problem of coöperation must finally be solved in the terms of these neighborhood groups of churches and other institutions.

Deeper than the coöperation of neighborhood institutions of course is the feeling of neighborhood itself. This feeling is a spiritual tie existing between people occupying a common locality. Such a tie consciously exists and is almost universally recognized as a basis of action in small communities. It is, however, very largely lacking as nebulous and fleeting, under urban conditions. Certain parts of every great city have maintained the consciousness of being neighborhoods and all parts have to a greater or less degree within themselves the makings of neighborhoods.

A neighborhood represents the most all-around expansion of social life. It is broader than the family and deeper than any other community both in intimacy and in common feeling and action. In its ideal form it expresses one hundred per cent. of the people of a given area in some of their most profound and permanent feelings.

DISCOVERY OF NEIGHBORHOOD AREAS

In the actual working out of the survey process in St. Louis, the validity of the district boundaries arbitrarily predetermined was frequently referred to a conference of people representing the churches and the leading social institutions. Such conferences were held in each of the ten Districts intensively surveyed. After field observations and the location of obvious boundaries and of central institutions, discussion brought out the factors of habit, of co-operation and feeling identified with neighborhood, as well as an indication as to where according to local opinion, the boundary lines ought to have been.

On the south border of District VIII, was discovered, for example, a relatively solid group of Negro population, partly in this District and in part in District XIV. The area this group occupied was held to indicate natural neighborhood boundaries and the district line was redrawn accordingly.

The district line between District VIII and District XVI was discussed by conference groups in both districts and a joint boundary commission appointed finally to determine it. Room for doubt lay in the fact that the marginal territory between these two districts is not completely settled and that numerous streets are unpaved or otherwise undeveloped. Several old quarries interfere with continuous layout of streets and other facilities. In these circumstances no one knew where the frontiers of neighborhoods really lay. The district in question was a sort of no-man's land between two neighborhoods having social identity. It constituted a broad and fluc-

tuating boundary, the complete social interpretation of which was not possible. In District II B a triangular area at the southwest corner was felt by the district conference to be so little homogeneous with the main body of the district as to population and social unity as not to belong with it. It was, therefore, decided to detach this triangle and unite it with District X B.

A small triangular area between Districts III and IV, running down to the river, was discussed by successive conferences held in that district. It was felt that this triangle belonged to District III with respect to its foreign-born and Negro population, but with District IV as regards its white population. It was, therefore, decided that it should be associated with both districts and a functional distinction made so that it would be served in one respect by one and in another respect by the other.

In the case of the western boundary of District XVI formed by the city line, it was disclosed that the obvious business and transportation center of the district crosses the line and that the boundary of the district as a natural community would have to ignore the city boundary and take in all the territory tributary to this business and transportation center.

A similar process in more intimate detail was applied to the subdivision of the survey districts. District IX, for example, was shown to have seven natural neighborhoods differentiated chiefly by race and nationality. In the case of District IV a study was made of the sub-divisions recognized by a great multiplicity of agencies—political, educational, social and religious. As indicated on the attached map, the recognized boundaries of the district and its subdivisions were identical streets in many cases, and strongly tended to fall in definite positions and directions. This was doubtless owing in part to imitation, one agency accepting a boundary previously laid down or adopted by another agency. In the large, however, it indicated a feeling for natural neighborhood boundaries and general agreement as to where they were actually to be found. The parish studies of the survey constitute an important contribution to study of the neighborhoods. Where the area containing a cluster of churches with compact parishes coincides with that served by other common institutions, and exhibits natural physical or social boundaries, the religious people who live in it are most likely to have, or to be able to develop, definite neighborhood feeling.

NATURAL NEIGHBORHOOD AND ARTIFICIAL DISTRICTING

The study of natural neighborhoods also necessarily concerns itself with such arbitrary areas as elemental school districts and

public recreational facilities. The establishment of these agencies generally reflects some sense of neighborhood responsibility: and effective neighborhood organization in turn relates to the use and control of these common facilities. Thus the public school building is the natural community center of city neighborhoods. The quality of the schools and their broader social uses depend largely upon the development of neighborhood intelligence and coöperative spirit. The Survey made only a beginning. The further processes of self-analysis and the uncovering of the natural elements of the neighborhood must go forward under such auspices as the local district conference and the spontaneous common interests of the several neighborhoods afford.

NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS

Some of the characteristics of a neighborhood are:

(1) Physical isolation or limitation in the shape of barriers difficult to cross, which shut a group of people unto themselves, in whole or in part, tends to make them feel their neighborhood solidarity. Such barriers in St. Louis are the river, the central valley and the system of railroads; and in less degree, streets having traffic or car tracks. Such streets are barriers to small children or timid individuals. Parks and unsettled territory serve also as neighborhood barriers in the more open parts of the city. Most church locations are determined by a shadowy sense of neighborhood as thus physically defined. Many of these restraining barriers have come in since the location of the churches, thus changing the situation. It is impossible to disguise the fact also that churches are sometimes located with sublime disregard for most obvious physical advantage and disadvantage.

(2) A neighborhood must have means of inter-communication in order that neighborly feeling may exist. A city neighborhood is not necessarily limited by practical walking distance but it is primarily thus determined. The physical mobility of the different sex and age-groups varies. Energetic and unattached people, particularly self-supporting adolescents enjoy a range larger than the largest neighborhood can afford. On the whole a neighborhood is an area of such size that the average economic and age-groups can easily get together in it with all the means of communication at their command. It may then differ in size in the different parts of the city.

(3) A neighborhood must have a center of frequent congregation such as is afforded by transfer points of street-car lines and clusters and larger concentrations of retail business where people get to-

gether in marketing. Such centers of congregation are of basic importance in the development of neighborhood feeling.

(4) A neighborhood is served by certain common institutions. Banks, moving-picture houses, pool halls and the like, equally with parks, schools, playgrounds and churches, tend to locate where they have a somewhat defined natural constituency. In habitually going to common institutions the people in the neighborhood develop a neighborhood feeling.

(5) A neighborhood must have homogeneity in some aspect. The more homogeneous it is the more likely it is to realize itself as a social unit. Thus people of different racial and national groups living on a common economic level may sometimes be organized into a neighborhood although they are differentiated by custom and language. This is the essential problem of the polyglot church. The common factor which includes many diverse people is that they are all poor and struggling against social pressure. On the other hand people of different economic levels may sometimes be organized into a neighborhood if they are of one race or faith. In these circumstances the church sometimes is able to get the rich and the poor to meet cordially together.

(6) The tradition of neighborhood growing out of habits established in the past when the community was smaller and simpler, also helps to mold the feelings of the present people to a sense of solidarity. A part of the city, when it has a local designation and maintains distinctive local institutions such as a neighborhood newspaper, is much more able to infuse a sense of belonging into the minds of strange and new people than are parts of the city that lack distinct local flavor. St. Louis has such localities which once were separate towns.

(7) The most complete sense of neighborhood grows out of the habits of conscious coöperation themselves. While these tendencies and vestiges of neighborhood exist in all parts of the city they vary in degree and also in the extent of their utilization. St. Louis has numerous local improvement associations which have brought people together on the real estate level. Many public schools have local patrons associations; some clusters of churches have each a well-developed tradition of local coöperation. In other words, here and there, the people are already thoroughly accustomed to collective enterprises, civic, political, educational, economic or moral.

Enough has been discovered to show that the neighborhoodizing of St. Louis is possible. There are natural districts and natural neighborhoods. The elements of neighborhood are not equally present everywhere, nor have they been equally recognized.

The survey districts were in many cases arbitrarily chosen from

the standpoint of social facts and need to be thoroughly revised before they can become the units of the best coöperation. Their further sub-division into neighborhoods will have unequal validity because of the unequal presence of factors making for neighborhood. At best each district neighborhood is part of the entire city and its citizens are in many of their relations citizens of the entire city. Both district and neighborhood boundaries are relative, fluctuating and overlapping. The Survey has nevertheless opened up a great field for further scientific study and one absolutely fundamental for coöperative church work.

DISTRICT CHURCH FEDERATIONS

A city is not federated religiously when it has developed a central organization called "The Church Federation," even though such an organization effects a large measure of unified planning and execution of Protestant projects on a city-wide basis. Just as coöperation must be brought home to localized communities and neighborhoods, so must the federation idea be brought home. It is simply the logical extension of the general idea of a city church federation to have a number of district councils or federations of churches within a city. This decentralizing tendency working within general federations has already authoritative recognition in the national church federation movement. The findings of the convention of church federations held in Cleveland in June, 1920, included a recommendation from the Sub-commission on Principles and Methods of Organization, proposing "community or church councils in the various more or less well-defined communities that make up the larger city or metropolitan areas as well as the rural counties." The Survey's analysis of the entire St. Louis situation makes it obvious that the problems and local conditions of various parts of the city are so dissimilar as to require highly specialized treatment. The magnitude of the task is so great that no merely central agencies can carry it out. The main city-serving agencies, both governmental and social, have already recognized the District administrative principle. It appears not only in their branch libraries and post-offices but in the branch buildings of the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations and in the districting of the city for high school purposes.

St. Louis' Protestant churches actually fall into about thirty clusters of from two to seven churches each. The tentative application of the districting and neighborhoodizing principle would require that the degree of association of each of these church clusters with some natural neighborhood be determined, and groupings of

neighborhoods recognized within the larger natural districts, of which there might be from fifteen to twenty-five. Churches within these areas should then be grouped as the local coöperative units for federated administration and work. Real programmizing for the Protestant movement must be done in terms of such naturally determined areas, and the realization of the Protestant coöperative spirit and tendency must be had through such highly localized forces.

Such a project is too great to be carried out all at once. Not all parts of the city are ready for it. Moreover it involves many elements of experiment which can be best worked out in a few districts to start with. It is the strong conviction of the Survey, however, that a beginning should be made in some of the Districts intensively studied, where the temporary community neighborhood conferences furnish material and interest for permanent organization.

DISTRICT CHURCH FEDERATIONS AND NEIGHBORHOOD COUNCILS

Coöperation of the Protestant churches within the several natural subdivisions of the city is, however, not enough. The community is the ultimate social unit in all matters within the immediate democratic control of the people. Great omissions will remain if merely the Protestant churches of such areas get together. Somehow the proposed local church federations must relate themselves to all the constructive social agencies and to the churches other than Protestant.

The community unit movement plays an important part in current social experimentation. No one yet knows precisely how it will become perpetuated in American social life. Few social students doubt, however, that war-time coöperation discovered new possibilities of 100 per cent. coöperation of Americans within local neighborhoods. Evidently the public facilities, including the parks, playgrounds and public schools are capable of a much larger cooperative use. Evidently local initiative can be developed far beyond the present stage. The secret of Americanization and the healing of class animosities are largely to be found in the development of neighborhood good will out of the natural instinct of those living together to feel their unity. The essence of successful democracy is the development of resident forces within such natural neighborhoods to assume responsibility for civic action and moral progress. They are a necessary part of the great give-and-take process involving the entire city, whereby the entire city may move in the direction of social well being, and of its moral and spiritual ideals. Working

alone, neither the fostering centralized agencies of the city, with their specialized agents, great institutions and heavy budgets, nor the modest, intimate, localized neighborhood agencies can solve the community problem of the metropolitan city. Only the two movements working together can hope to do this.

The Protestant churches have to play equal parts in the field of centralized and of localized coöperation. They must relate themselves to all constructive and neighborhood movements, particularly to organized neighborhood councils inclusive of all the churches and all constructive agencies wherever such exist or may be developed. The district church group under whatever name would be coördinated in its field with the neighborhood council of local churches having direct membership in both. The Protestant churches, however, by having their own federation with means of crystallizing their special purposes, would be the more able to enter intelligently into localized community affairs and to make more effective basic contribution to them.

Chapter IX

PROTESTANTISM AND THE COMMUNITY

Up to this point the Survey has treated of Protestantism as an alignment of denominational local churches, an ecclesiastical organization the units of which have more or less acquired the habit of thinking of themselves as a group and which are used more or less interchangeably by a body of adherents recognizing themselves as Protestants. These organizations have been thought of as serving the community in the field of religion, a field in which they have exclusive Protestant responsibilities. For the confessed promotion of religion as such nothing exists except the church.

But Protestantism manifestly is not exhausted by organizations which have taken ecclesiastical form. Nor is it confined strictly to religion in its common-sense meaning. It has an impressive mass of institutional philanthropies carrying out the historic tradition that good works flow from faith. It has also an important group of non-ecclesiastical organizations representing and supported by all Protestant communions; like the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations. Their present-day activities go beyond the traditional field of philanthropic good works and engage with life on all its sides. This attitude is expressed in the familiar symbolism of the triangle.

Finally, beyond these non-denominational aspects of Protestantism lies the field of organized interdenominational coöperation. This field has developed numerous forms of common effort, of which the Church Federation is the most permanent and inclusive. They have chiefly to do with the administrative and specialized social ministries of the church as over against the normal service of the religious life. With respect to these larger Protestant agencies and movements, which are the subject of this chapter, a fundamental change of atmosphere is to be noted. The ecclesiastical church, occupying exclusively the field of religion in its narrower sense, has to do primarily with other similar churches constituting the denominational subdivisions of Protestantism. These subdivisions have largely come to think respectfully of one another's peculiarities. All policies growing out of denominational conviction or deliberate purpose have been accepted as right for the communions concerned. Only such differences in the working out of these policies as show greater or less institutional efficiency and more or less satisfactory service to constituencies have been remarked.

The moment, however, that the church goes out of the exclusive field of religion, as it does, say, when it founds a children's home, it ceases to stand outside of the sphere of active criticism. The observer who has hesitated to intrude into the exclusive field of the church no longer feels an outsider unentitled to judge. Government, the Press, Civic Movements, all leave the church pretty much to go its own way in the field of religion. In the field of philanthropy and social service it no longer has exclusive rights, especially since, for the future, Protestant enterprises are to share in the financial benefits of the Community Chest. Rather the church has partners and competitors, both of whom are naturally critics. Particularly as it gets farther away from its traditional phases of charity into the fields of social service, involving education, as illustrated by Y. M. and Y. W. C. A. activities; or into the field of recreation as universally touched by the work of the community church, is it made aware of technical standards arising outside of itself by which these phases of its work are judged. Education, of course, has a vast experience which has been reduced to many legal and other authoritative standards. Recreation and community service have developed by experience their minimum requirements. The field of health is necessarily one controlled by experience and demanding accurate standardization. All these great movements expect the church, when it enters their fields, to play the game. The state and private philanthropy alike intend to treat the church as a responsible factor in common community effort for social progress. They think that it is subject to criticism from this standpoint and that it should share with the rest the responsibility for erecting standards, in addition to being jointly subject to them.

From this point on, therefore, the Survey regards itself as belonging to the field of social as well as of religious investigation. It subjects the philanthropic and social work of the St. Louis churches to criticism originating in non-ecclesiastical realms and considerations. The church is no longer regarded as an agency standing or falling by the success of religious culture which it affords to its own adherents or by the evangelizing expansion of the church or by its institutional progress. It has now to accept the rôle of a responsible social agency of the city of St. Louis which has undertaken to do part of the things in which the municipal, governmental, educational and philanthropic organizations and the various civic agencies also have a share.

Protestant Philanthropies

The enormous share which the Protestant philanthropies hold in the total philanthropies of St. Louis appears in the following table.

Including the non-sectarian agencies which are Protestant in history and virtual control though not bearing any ecclesiastical label it constitutes well over half the total.

TABLE XXIII—ST. LOUIS PHILANTHROPIES CLASSIFIED BY SOURCES OF SUPPORT AND CONTROL

	Property Value	*Per cent.*	*Annual Cost of Operation*	*Per cent.*
City Enterprises	$3,841,167.00	22	$1,742,697.00	29
Protestant	7,214,897.00	42	2,221,616.00	37
Catholic	3,764,000.00	22	756,489.64 [1]	13
Jewish	831,500.00	4	264,091.00	4
Non-sectarian	1,724,375.00	10	928,355.00	17
Total	$17,375,939.00	100	$5,913,248.64	100

[1] Cost of charity work only, not cost of operation.

The total invested in philanthropic enterprises by the city, the denominations and the non-sectarian agencies is practically $17,000,000. About 40 per cent. of this is the investment of the Protestant denominations as such. Of an aggregate cost of operation of nearly $6,000,000, the cost of denominational institutions is 37.5 per cent. The conduct on the part of Protestantism of the enterprises involving such enormous outlays and touching humanity so closely and at so many points is of fundamental social importance.

Compared with the Catholic philanthropic expenditures, those of the Protestant denominations appear very much larger both absolutely and relatively to the size of their respective constituencies.

VARIETIES OF PROTESTANT PHILANTHROPY

The number and range of philanthropies conducted by the Protestant denominations and independently under acknowledged Protestant auspices are indicated by the following table:

TABLE XXIV—CLASSIFICATION OF PHILANTHROPIC ENTERPRISES UNDER PROTESTANT AUSPICES

Philanthropic Enterprises	*Denominational*	*Independent*	*Total*
Hospitals	8	1	9
Children's Homes	13	2	15
Old Folks' Homes	3	3	6
Institutional Churches and Settlements	12	0	12
Special Institutes, Blind, Deaf, Convalescent	1	1	2
Aid Societies	3	1	4
Missionary Benevolent	3	0	3
Hotels and Working People's Homes	0	1	1
Total	43	9	52

This accounting omits the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association whose work is classified as primarily educational and recreational rather than philanthropic. It also omits charities attached exclusively to single parishes such as a number of outing farms or the notable Good Will Industries of the Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church.

INSTITUTIONAL VS. NON-INSTITUTIONAL PHILANTHROPY

Philanthropies above enumerated are chiefly specialized, typified by hospitals and children's homes. The relatively small amount of denominational investment in other forms of philanthropies is indicated by the analysis of Table XXV.

The activities reported in the "other work" are practically limited to those of the community serving churches. These differ from the parish charities of the really independent church in that they uniformly require denominational special support and are frequently under peculiar forms of control involving both the general and local boards of the church.

From this it appears that Protestant philanthropy is almost entirely institutional to the exclusion of these positive and preventative activities now understood to be the heart of modern charities: namely, constructive work with families in their homes; education against disease and vice; relief of the sick in their homes; and the development of normal and helpful neighborhood relationships. What the above table really compares, however, is limited to the forms of work undertaken by the denominations as such. The great bulk of individual and family service and the chief phases of social education fall rather within the ordinary parish ministries and the instructional processes of the local Protestant churches. Their cost in money and personal service is covered in the budgets and operations of these several churches and not segregated as philanthropic accounts. For this reason direct comparison between Protestant denominational philanthropies and those operated on the non-sectarian basis is not fully just to Protestantism. It fails to tell the whole story. Apparently non-sectarian philanthropies devote 56 per cent. of their expenditures to other than institutional work, compared with only 16 per cent. of the Protestant expenditures. The inclusion of philanthropic work by local Protestant churches, however, would put a different face upon the matter. Besides, this service of the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association is chiefly non-institutional. Finally, inasmuch as the Roman Catholic and Hebrew communions have their own separate and parallel organizations, it is clear that the

TABLE XXV—PROTESTANT INSTITUTIONAL AND NON-INSTITUTIONAL PHILANTHROPIES

	All Property Value	*Hospitals, Old People's Homes, Children's and Special Institutions*	*Per cent.*	*Total Cost of Operating All Agencies*	*Cost of Operating Institutions 2nd column*	*Per cent.*	*Cost of Other Work*
Protestant (excluding Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A.)	$5,615,030	$4,929,020	32	$1,382,146	$1,156,941	40	$225,205
Y. M. C. A.	1,185,000	.....	..	400,000	.....	..	400,000
Y. W. C. A.	414,867	.....	..	439,470	.....	..	439,470
Total Protestant	7,214,897	4,929,020	32	2,221,616	1,156,941	39	1,064,675
Non-sectarian	1,724,375	1,425,621	9	928,355	404,559	14	523,796
Catholic	3,764,000	3,336,300	22	.....	.....	..	88,574
Jews	831,500	721,000	5	264,091	199,440	7	64,651
	$20,749,669	$15,340,961	100	$5,635,678	$2,917,781	100	$2,806,371

very non-sectarian organizations themselves are chiefly supported by the Protestant elements of the community.

Very probably St. Louis Protestant philanthropy, as expressed through denominations, is more largely institutional than that of most large American cities. Institutional tendency is specially marked in the case of churches of German-speaking origin which are exceptionally strong here. All told, however, it may fairly be asserted that St. Louis Protestantism has a reasonably balanced philanthropic program though perhaps not a fully modern one. It does not do its philanthropic work wholly through denominations, and is deeply involved in all the general social betterment movements of the city.

While it is necessary in justice to assert the above fact, it is wise to look again at the philanthropies which are carried on under denominational auspices. They are too largely institutional. The relatively slightly development of the community-serving churches and their neighborhood work is impressively significant. This is a very weak spot in the total Protestant program.

HOSPITALS

A larger per cent. of the philanthropic investments of the Protestant denominations is in hospitals than in any other type of philanthropy. The facts may be summarized as follows:

Number	*Value of Property*	*Annual Cost of Operation*	*Capacity*
8	$3,064,974	$774,320	1,217 beds

Six of the hospitals enumerated above are general hospitals, while two are primarily for maternity cases. Four of the eight general hospitals are on the graded list of the American College of Surgeons for 1921 as meeting the minimum requirements of this recognized standardizing agency. One of the four, however, is starred in the list, indicating that while meeting them in principle it has not fully worked out the requirements in operation. The remainder of the denominational hospitals are not in position to offer their patients "the best possible care" which it is the object of the requirements to secure.

Other criticisms noted after careful study by a recent competent investigator are:

(1) Protestant hospitals are very weak in social service work. They do not follow their patients into their homes nor are they related to their communities in preventative service.

(2) In the smaller hospitals there is insufficient specialization.

(3) The dispensaries are deficient in social work and do not offer very convenient service to the public.

The obvious objective before the Protestant hospitals is (1) to reach the minimum of standard requirements, and (2) to relate themselves to their communities through social service staffs and activities. It is clear that denominational zeal has built numerous over-small hospitals in some of which these objectives will not be easy to obtain.

CHILDREN'S HOMES

These are the most frequent form of Protestant institutional philanthropy carried on in thirteen denominational and two independent Protestant institutions representing nine different denominations.

The following is the summary of property investment, cost of annual operations and capacity:

Number	*Value of Property*	*Annual Cost of Operation*	*Capacity*
15	$1,088,000	$242,200	1,459

This Protestant provision for nearly 1,500 children constitutes about one-half of the total philanthropic provision for homeless children. Considering the turn-over about 5,000 St. Louis children have to be cared for during an average year. In a Protestant institution the majority of the children actually cared for are half orphans or temporary dependents, a few of whom naturally have part of their expenses paid by their parents though in theory all who are able are required to pay something. Institutions differ in their theory of the care of the child. The practice of some amounts to keeping children permanently. Others intend to find private homes for them, but only a few actually do any considerable amount of placing out.

Institutions differ very greatly as to the ages at which children are received. One institution's limit is under three years of age, which naturally compels the reception also of dependent mothers, although the purpose is to provide for children. The age of reception is sometimes as low as nine months but is more generally two or three years. The upward limit is naturally complicated by the difficulty of associating adolescent boys and girls in a congregate institution. The boys are, therefore, not generally cared for beyond the age of twelve, though girls are frequently kept till eighteen. In one case there is a supplemental institution for boys only above the age of twelve.

Social issues involved in the care of dependent and homeless children are fairly clear. Such children are the legal responsibilities of the State. Competent opinion is practically unanimous in holding that the invariable ideal is to place the homeless child in a permanent foster home and not to allow it to grow up in any institution, however good. This opinion is, however, not assented to by the denominational tradition of some churches. They feel that a well-conducted institution in which religious influences are strongly developed may be the most fitting form in which the church can exercise a responsibility for dependent children of its own faith.

Naturally the issue cannot be settled on grounds of authority. But it should not be too much to ask that when the church adopts the institutional method it should follow the most approved practice in the care of dependent children. This, as is universally admitted, is to break up the institutional group into small groups and to put them into separate homes under the care of guardians who may become as nearly as possible fathers and mothers themselves—the so-called cottage plan as over against the congregate plan. No denominational children's home in St. Louis has the cottage plan. In other words, the institutions are not made to resemble the home as nearly as they should and might be. The following is a rough composite picture of what actually goes on in the children's homes of the Protestant denominations of St. Louis. While there is little permanent placing out, there is a very large degree of coming and going among the children committed to these homes, because so many of them have at least one parent and the use of the homes as a group is so largely that of temporary refuges. Some of the greatest problems rise from this situation. On the other hand, children are admitted with little investigation simply because the parent does not surrender legal rights. Generally, on the other hand, the child is dismissed to the parent upon the latter's whim without sufficient assurance that it is for the child's welfare or that the parent is in a position to care properly for it.

The informality of admission extends to the matter of health. While health certificates are, in most cases, nominally required, investigation finds that the requirements are rigidly enforced only in a few institutions. In other words, children already in the home are not protected against disease from the newcomer. Physical conditions within the institution are generally satisfactory. There is frequent medical inspection and generally suitable individual provision for sleeping and toilet facilities; yet in one institution individual toilet articles were not furnished.

Children ordinarily attend the public school, or the parochial

school at the institution in certain cases where the denominations habitually carry on such schools.

A number of these children's homes are in suburbs or have large enough grounds to supply ample place to play, and a few have farms and gardens. All give systematized training in domestic and manual work.

In only one case is any attempt reported to organize the children into small groups and to give individualized attention to their needs.

The careful investigation of these institutions in 1916 by Mr. Francis McLean, of the Society for Organizing Charity, brought forth the following major recommendations.[1]

(1) The denominational children's homes as a group are careless about the admission of children and keep no adequate records to show either the justification or lack of justification for such admission.

(2) They are careless in the discharge of children and do not adequately follow up their responsibility for those dismissed at the request of parents.

(3) They do not do individual placing out nor keep any permanent homes nor have they facilities of investigation or for following up the children who are placed out.

(4) While the physical conditions of the home are pretty good the children need more careful medical attention particularly at the point of admission.

(5) No adequate records are kept of children's work in the home to know whether they are most profitably employed and not overworked.

(6) There is no adequate individualization of the care of children either mental, moral or physical.

(7) While there is some attempt at vocational guidance very much more practical measures should be devised for fitting the dependent child for future independence.

(8) The total provision for dependent children has no relation to the actual needs of the community. It is not even known whether facilities for the care of such children are excessive or not.

(9) It is also to be noted that the Protestant Children's Homes do not constitute a Protestant system for the care of dependent children in the age requirements and the care of children received on account of the situation. They have conflicting and overlapping policies. Children sometimes cannot be received although the institutions are not filled to their capacities. There should be further specialization between the girls and boys institutions.

The obvious measures which might begin to remedy the major defects above enumerated and to create a unity in which the institutions might function as a system are:

(1) To organize a conference of these institutions to meet at stated times and to discuss the mutual problem.

(2) To create a common agency probably in connection with

1 The new inspection by the St. Louis Community Council during the past few months indicates that practically the same conditions which were criticized in 1916 still continue and that all of Mr. McLean's recommendations are still pertinent.

the Community Council of Social Agencies to investigate all applicants for admission.

(3) To develop gradually a common agency for placing out children with standard practices of investigation and follow up.

(4) To set up an adequate system of records.

(5) Ultimately to have a definite division of the field between the state and the denominational philanthropist whereby the latter should care generally for temporarily dependent children and exceptional cases.

This is in line with the general tendency of the Protestant institutions. By preparing themselves to do this one thing thoroughly well and backing the State in securing adequate provision to care for all placing out of children, the maximum social and Christian advantage would probably be found.

OLD PEOPLE'S HOMES

Six of the sixteen old people's homes of the city are Protestant, but only three are denominationally maintained. Their relative scale of operation is indicated by the following:

Number	*Value of Property*	*Annual Cost of Operation*	*Capacity*
6	$352,000	$78,059	491

The type of philanthropy represented by these homes is only about one-tenth as costly in plant and operation as are the hospitals, but it costs just about as much per institutional unit as the children's homes.

Just as the children's homes were found to be primarily not for orphans, but for temporarily or partially dependent children, so the old people's homes are for semi-dependents rather than for complete dependents. They partake of the nature of a mutual living arrangement, facilitated and housed by a church or philanthropy. In many cases the entrance fee charged the inmate is expected to cover his support thereafter.

The main technical criticism of the old people's homes directly touches this point. While some of them need better conveniences, better fire protection and nursing, the more fundamental problem is that of receiving inmates on probation with only a conditional transfer of property until the permanent relationship has proven to be mutually desirable, and with some personal income still retained by the inmate.

As in the case of the children's institutions, the fact that the Protestant old people's homes do not constitute a system, but are

NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSE, 19TH AND FRANKLIN

BARNES HOSPITAL, SOUTHERN METHODIST

sometimes limited to receiving people of a given faith makes for unsatisfactory and inefficient service in the group as a whole. Some institutions will have vacancies and others waiting lists; and those with vacancies cannot take the people on the waiting list. In other words, the institutions fail to perform the very functions in which they find social warrant, because of administrative and sectarian narrowness.

OTHER DENOMINATIONAL PHILANTHROPIES

The remaining types are sporadic rather than characteristic of any general Protestant tendency. Here and there some Protestant agency has simply dipped into a social problem generally being carried by the agencies of the state or of non-ecclesiastical charity.

The lodging houses for homeless men, for example, are conducted only under the Salvation Army. The group of working people's homes conducted on a semi-philanthropic basis are all non-denominational; this excludes the dormitories operated by the Young Women's Christian Association which are not classified as directly philanthropic.

The type of institutions established to meet the problem of the delinquent woman and girl constitute a vexing problem and one inadequately met. They are organized on three lines:

1. The semi-correctional institution dealing with the girl of wayward tendencies before her case becomes acute. This type has a good representation in the Epworth School for Girls of the Methodist Episcopal Church—a small but excellently managed philanthropy.

2. The detention home for girls whose cases have passed through the courts is represented in St. Louis by the inter-denominational Euclid House, which has had a checkered career and is now in process of reorganization.

3. There is a so-called Rescue Home, ordinarily for women who have fallen into systematic vice.

These homes have sometimes been operated in part as maternity hospitals, but none of the ventures can be accounted creditable. In this latter group of activities it is evident that the Protestant forces are simply making unsatisfactory incursions into widely foreign philanthropic realms requiring very diversified experience and technical methods. They have learned to conduct excellent hospitals and creditable children's and old people's homes, and have such large investments in these lines of philanthropy that manifestly there is no turning back. They should, therefore, learn to do standard work in these lines before venturing in other fields which have scarcely

begun to be occupied. Indeed, it is worth considering whether Protestant forces as such would not better retire from these less familiar fields and make common cause with the other forces of progress and good will in the city in meeting these needs with really adequate measures and institutions.

The wide range of philanthropic activity in the city labeled non-sectarian, but largely initiated and still supported by the contributions of Protestant people, has already been considered. For the future Protestant ventures into the field of philanthropy should surely be made only after the most careful survey of its entire range, with reference to all the agencies available for meeting social need. This is not to say that no new forms of philanthropy should develop under the auspices of the separate denominations, but only that the manner of it should be subject to the collective wisdom and deliberate decision of competent representative agencies.

Other Protestant Agencies

Standing between the Protestant philanthropies and the denominational churches, drawing motive and method from both, are a group of non-ecclesiastical Protestant agencies specializing in the needs of certain age-, and sex-groups. The most notable are the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations. They differ from the philanthropies in that the needs which they are designed to meet are the normal needs of the developing human lives, rather than those of sub-normal individuals or types. They approach their problem in an attitude similar to that of the philanthropies, because the needs are so urgent and the age-crises so crucial.

Again, they differ from the churches in that the form of their service is not ecclesiastical, but they are like the churches in that their motive and much of the content of their work is definitely religious. As it works out in the modern city, these agencies attack the problem of the age-, and sex-groups primarily from two standpoints. The young men and women whom the Associations serve are primarily detached people, frequently strangers in the city, not living in their own families and transient in their places of habitation; or they are the employed group of urban young people, economically independent, undergoing industrial stress, and with daily shifting to and fro between their homes and places of work.

The two classes are largely overlapping. A third field—of largest promise for these agencies—is that of boys and girls frequently on the edge of employment, with whom the home has little influence under urban conditions, imitative of the freedom of their elders, molded into social groups by the gang spirit.

In St. Louis the Associations have developed their work mainly in response to the needs of these classes. The policy of the Young Men's Christian Association has diverged from the one customary in most large cities in that it has never had a great down-town central building. Plans are now under way to secure such a structure; meanwhile its work goes on mainly through district branches, including a very active branch for railroad men.

The Young Women's Christian Association, on the contrary, has a well located central building, but for the rest has developed mainly small centers rather than large institutions. Its object has been to create a homelike and inspiring environment for the industrial and business woman and to help her meet the primary needs of food, lodging and sociability within a definitely Christian atmosphere.

Both Associations have well developed Negro work, constituting a very conspicuous part of their success. The Negro branch of the Young Men's Christian Association, under virtually independent administration, has an exceptional modern building, toward the cost of which the Negro community contributed largely. Both also have developed phases of Americanization work for foreign-speaking immigrants. The institutionalized method of the Associations is familiar. It includes physical training, educational and religious departments. In the administration of these systematized forms of service much stress is laid on the personal problems of young people. A multiplicity of self-directing clubs is fostered, allowing initiative and natural affinities to develop.

In some districts of the city non-institutional work is carried on largely in connection with churches. Experts in young people's work are made available for fostering the various current forms of specialized group organization. This type of work has been especially useful with employed boys in some of the rougher districts of the city.

The combined annual budgets of the Associations exceed $800,000: considerably more than one-third of the total cost of Protestant enterprises other than the local churches. Of this amount, however, a considerable per cent. was derived from fees and dormitory rentals. The Associations feel that they are related historically and sentimentally to the Protestant church as such. This relationship definitely emerges, however, only in times of special crisis. Thus, the Young Men's Christian Association appealed to the Church Federation Council to approve its plans for development involved in the project for a new central building. Criticism was frankly exchanged and a somewhat definite renewal of allegiance of both movements to the common ideals of thorough-going Protestant evangelization and service was reached.

The Survey makes no attempt to enter the border-land of non-denominational agencies working through and largely, though not exclusively, dependent upon the Protestant churches. The Boy Scout organization, the Anti-Saloon League, and other familiar examples occur to the mind and are mentioned merely to suggest the completed picture of Protestantism in its actual outreach and relationship.

INTER-DENOMINATIONAL PROTESTANT COÖPERATION

Many incidental forms of inter-denominational coöperation have been of long-time occurrence within the Protestant body; such traditions as union Thanksgiving services and the appointment of official representatives of Protestantism on occasions of civic importance are familiar. The most important of the formal agencies of coöperation are the Ministerial Alliance and the Church Federation, together with the City and County Sunday School Associations.

The Ministerial Alliance is primarily a monthly conference of the Protestant clergy of the city, to which matters of current importance are brought from time to time. The Alliance speaks for the Protestant conscience on such matters, agitates for such action as it may approve, and makes formal representations of other bodies concerned. Recent illustrations of the action of the Ministerial Alliance as a going concern are an investigation of the public dance-hall situation, resulting in a conference with and action by the Board of Education; endorsement of increased school taxes; opposition to an alleged disreputable candidate for postmaster, and a discussion of a labor controversy with proposed hearings for both sides.

The Church Federation

Whereas the Ministerial Alliance is informal, and concerns itself primarily with matters of current interest, the Church Federation is a permanent body representing much broader interests and having a consecutive policy and a regularly functioning staff. It was organized in May, 1912, and stands out among the conspicuous urban federations of the nation.

It is definitely a representative body in which the majority of the Protestant denominations formally coöperate. Its practical leadership, however, is not limited to these denominations. Some of them, by action of their national bodies, cannot enter into formal memberships: federation in the large is still viewed with alarm as implying some loss of denominational freedom or some dangerous movement toward ecclesiastical unity. Nevertheless the local staffs, even of these denominations, habitually unite in specific action under

the leadership of the Federation, enter into definite agreements and exchange mutual services. Denominations regarded as non-evangelical are not included and it has not been found practicable to bring the sporadic and irregularly organized sects into actual co-operative relations.

DEPARTMENTS AND THEIR WORK

The scope of the Federation is suggested by the commissions through which its work is departmentalized, as follows:

Comity,
Evangelism,
Legislation and law enforcement,
Missions—men,
Missions—women,
Religious education,
Social service—men,
Social service—women.

The staff consists of an executive secretary and an associate secretary, together with superintendents of street and shop meetings and of police court, parish and community work.

Considering the work in its actual proportions, it is discovered that about three-fourths of the financial expenditure goes to its promotional aspect. The Church Federation, in other words, is first of all an agency designed to educate the churches and the community in the idea of Protestant coöperation. It publishes a small weekly paper. It has backed a legislative program particularly relating to public morality. It has promoted daily vacation Bible schools and taken initial steps toward a system of week-day religious instruction. Its social service departments have advocated in manifold ways, throughout the churches, the interest of child welfare, Americanization, social hygiene and better public morals. It annually sets up permanent objectives in the field of evangelism and missions.

The specific pieces of service carried on by the Federation directly in behalf of the coöperating bodies take about one-quarter of its budget and consist most largely in an elaborate system of shop and factory preaching throughout the year, and of street and park evangelism during the summer, which is largely transferred to the various down-town missions during the winter. Thus in a typical month a hundred week-day meetings will be held in twenty or thirty of the industries of St. Louis, with an aggregate attendance of over 6,000 addressed by thirty-five or more ministers, assisted by a large number of musicians. More than 92,000 of the industrial

workers of St. Louis attended such services during the last reported year. In the street and park meetings during a typical summer season more than 20,000 people are gathered in about 150 meetings. The Federation secures the preachers of the city to deliver the evangelistic message, and organizes choirs and instrumental music from among the young people's societies of the city.

During the period of severe unemployment in the winter of 1921-22 organized assistance both in the conduct of evangelistic meetings and in the provision of food for homeless men was made through a number of city missions, and finally a large down-town theater was obtained and an elaborate program of preaching and musical ministries developed, in which a large number of the churches of the city coöperated through their choirs of young people.

The Federation maintains part-time workers in the Juvenile Court and the Probation Office and sends stated visitors to do pastoral work in the various institutions. Through its women's social service department part-time women workers are employed in similar ministrations. Considerable knowledge and a small amount of money have been invested in the prosecution of cases against public morals, especially as represented by unwholesome moving-pictures. Another small investment has been made in the Community Training School for Church School Workers.

INTER-DENOMINATIONAL COMITY

Probably the most important single function of the Church Federation is the practice of comity in the matter of the location and relocation of Protestant churches. This function is carried on through the Commission on City Missions and Church Extension.

Its first important development has been that of standards intended to govern the establishment of Protestant churches, namely, that there should be not more than one for every 2,500 population, and ideally only one for each natural neighborhood, although it is recognized that sometimes the location of churches in clusters may not conflict with this idea but be actually profitable. Finally it is held that only a single denomination should undertake Protestant work in a foreign-speaking colony.

The process supposed to be carried out to secure the benefits of coöperation in the establishment of new churches, or the relocation of old ones is as follows: The church concerned applies to the Commission on Comity to have its plans investigated. The Commission in turn notifies all other churches or denominational interests which might be affected by the proposed plans. After a formal visitation to

the field, the committee of the Commission holds hearings of the interested parties and reaches a decision which it reports in writing to the Commission. After the matter is finally passed upon the executives of the Federation attempt to work out the adjustments recommended, in a spirit of fraternal sympathy.

In reaching its advisory decision the Commission is presumed to consult both the needs of the community and the preferences of the majority of the people, and to be in position to substantiate its findings by a survey or household canvass when necessary. It is also presumed to advise a church occupying new territory, as to the extent of equipment and type of program judged adequate for meeting the needs of the community.

In theory the Commission does not intend merely to sit upon separate cases, but rather to study the needs of the entire city and to take the initiative in allocating and recommending to whatever denomination it judges best the task in any especially needy or strategic field.

In practice, however, the functioning of the Commission has been mainly limited to cases which arise with individual churches. Three such cases which the Commission handled during the months that the Survey was in process will serve as typical illustrations.

1. A church desired to move into a growing residential district in which there were already numerous churches with various parishes, and the prospects of the location of future population were not well defined. After consulting the judgment of all parties the plans of the church were approved. It seems probable, however, that this church had already burned its bridges before referring its case to the Commission.

2. A church desired to erect a new building on a lot within two blocks of its old location, but considerably nearer another church. The Commission approved this desire and held that such an internal change within the original neighborhood could not seriously affect the actual occupancy rights of the other denominations.

3. A church in a rural village had been without a pastor for a long time, while the church of another denomination in an adjoining country neighborhood had expanded its work and felt itself to be occupying the field adequately. When the work of the first church was revived, there appeared to be a collision of interests, which was referred to the Commission. The underlying question was whether the field had been virtually abandoned by the church whose services had lapsed. The Commission held that the continuous possession of property and maintenance of the church organization constituted a holding of the field and that the revival of the work did not infringe upon the rights of the other denomination.

The findings of the Commission have great moral weight and have in fact been generally acceptable, though sometimes they have been rendered rather after the event than before it. Cases have arisen where a locally independent church declined to follow the desires of its own denominational representatives in observing the Commission's decisions. This is analogous to the difficulty which labor union leaders sometimes find in enforcing agreements upon their local organizations. In general, however, the consensus of Protestant opinion represented in the Commission's findings has worked out into acceptance all along the line. St. Louis thus has not a perfect, but a more than promising practice and habit of comity under successful operation through its Church Federation. Eleven denominations have entered into specific agreement (subject in some cases to reservations) to seek and abide by the Comity Commission's rulings.

The federation idea has not yet been extended to Negro churches, but the general Church Federation has gone on record as feeling itself responsible for promoting such a federation in connection with interracial coöperation.

The Church Federation is supported by a budget, divided among the coöperating churches, of about $20,000, supplemented by guarantees from individuals, which gives an annual income of over $30,000.

THE STATUS OF CHURCH FEDERATION IN ST. LOUIS

The status of the Federation as a going concern and as an actually functioning phase of Protestant coöperation may be summarized as follows:

It is in aggressive operation in the interests of the idea of Protestant unity and service and uses every occasion for the education of the church constituency and the public in this direction.

It is carrying on highly important lines of actual ministering service, which, however, might be and in many cities are in other hands. It has been necessary for the St. Louis Federation to carry on these activities in order to commend itself to the financial and moral support of elements in the Protestant bodies which do not fully value its educational and promotional functions. The work is being well done, and from the strategic standpoint may well remain in the hands of the Federation. It should not, however, be allowed to over-burden the executives nor to obscure in the imagination of the public the Federation's main function.

The Federation has only a loose and, in the main, nominal relationship with the important organizations of women for missions

and local social service. While professing to function as commissions within the Federation, these organizations really do not share adequately in common plans and the strategy of the combined work represented by them, and the Federation is not really developed unitedly. Progress is perhaps being made and the present situation is certainly far better than to have these loosely connected organizations working in complete independence.

The Federation is increasingly looked upon as the spokesman of Protestantism before the public in all large civic issues touching the churches, and is being compelled increasingly to play the rôle of an endorsement agent for Protestant movements and projects which seek public support.

In this, as in most matters, both of policy and of specific judgment, it has acted in the past, and in spite of the present stage of the completion of the Survey must still act without adequate knowledge based on scientifically determined facts. The Federation needs a permanent survey department and a continuous survey process to make it honestly worthy of its place of leadership, to enable it to guide in real wisdom, and to enable it to justify the large confidence which hitherto suspicious and competing interests have come to repose in it.

FURTHER INTEGRATIONS OF THE PROTESTANT FORCES

The coöperation movement of Protestantism as represented in the Church Federation is not complete. It does not include all the denominations. Probably it cannot do so under such actual limitations as are represented by the oppositions of churches at the theological extremes and by the sporadic character of certain sects. It can, however, move toward a broader coöperation.

Besides the problem already noted, of bringing the women's organizations, nominally members of it, into more complete functional unity, there are two remaining levels on which large coöperation manifestly needs to be achieved. First, the more important denominational agencies which have developed directly for specialized Protestant ends have not been included in the Federation movement. They represent a complete emerging of Protestant interests with respect to the functions performed, not a federation. The chief of these agencies are the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations. It is meaningless to include them in a federation of churches; they are beyond that phase of coöperation. But it is wholly in the line of logic and of practical Protestant strategy to urge that they should be federated with the Federation. Secondly, the Protestant philanthropies should also be included, so that there

may be a really completely representative organization for the total Protestant forces, with a unified strategy and support, but with the necessary freedom and flexibility of relation well safeguarded for all its component parts.

A recent munificent bequest by the late George Warren Brown toward the central building fund of the Young Men's Christian Association includes a stipulation that the Church Federation shall be provided with suitable permanent quarters in the building when erected, or else that the Federation shall receive a cash share in the bequest, adequate to assure it a fitting independent building. This stipulation presents the occasion for a square facing of the issue of unified leadership for a united Protestantism. No great American city has ever had such opportunity to express the visible unity of its central Protestant organizations as this bequest, when realized, will afford St. Louis. It opens the way for a forward step in equipment, but also for a unique venture in policy, which might point the way for the nation. St. Louis, at least, has a chance to do something original in the direction of the largest integration of the Protestant forces.

Chapter X

THE DENOMINATIONS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

The Protestant people of St. Louis are divided among forty-six denominations, each differing from the others to greater or less degree.[1]

Sometimes the grounds of difference are doctrinal, sometimes ecclesiastical; one denomination has a unique vision of truths to be preached, another a proper form of church government to be maintained. But denominations of exactly identical doctrine and polity exist side by side. They may express simply different nationalities, as the German and Danish Lutherans; different histories, as the Northern and Southern Methodists, or different psychologies, as, say, the Congregationalists and Free Methodists. Undoubtedly, the deep temperamental variations of human nature need to be expressed in organized religion in some way or other; but, as the history of religious heritages in St. Louis has shown, the existing denominations are in the main a historic accumulation, reflecting the past far more than the present city. It is scarcely too much to say that the present denominational situation is essentially a catch-all, a disorderly array of odds and ends of organizations resulting from the mixture of historic, theological and psychological motives, with no logical or spiritual coherence and with little excuse in contemporary social needs.

ENUMERATION AND CLASSIFICATION

While Protestantism is thus divided among many denominations, the total body of 93,671 church members in the city proper (1921) is not without strong tendencies toward larger unity. Most of this membership is in a few large denominations. Almost 87 per cent. belongs to the following ten denominations which have more than 1,000 members each and 78 per cent. to the seven denominations which have more than 5,000 members each.

The seven largest denominations and ten smaller ones further combine into six denominational families. Almost three-fourths of the Protestantism of St. Louis is Lutheran, Evengelical, some sort of

[1] For list and membership, see Appendix, page 319.

Methodist or Presbyterian, Baptist or Episcopal. These are the "Big Six" of the religious groups.

Most of the Protestant denominations are associated in the Church Federation. All the larger ones and ten smaller ones, making up 90 per cent. of the total body, are thus in effective local coöperation.

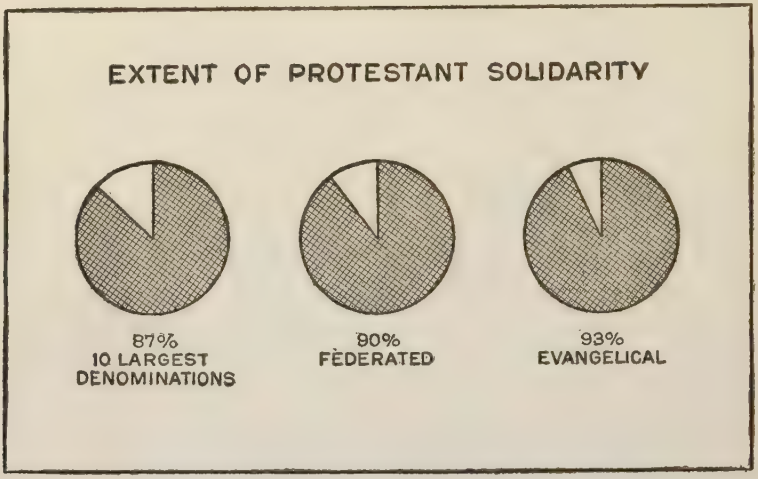


CHART 39

In important respects the unity of the great body of Protestant Christians is as much a reality as is their sectarian division.

TABLE XXVI—MEMBERSHIP OF THE TEN LARGEST DENOMINATIONS IN ST. LOUIS

Denomination	*Members*	*Per cent.*
Lutheran	16,286	17.4
Evangelical	15,972	17.1
Presbyterian, U.S.A.	10,401	11.1
Methodist Episcopal South	9,792	10.4
Baptist	8,423	9.0
Methodist Episcopal	6,222	6.6
Protestant Episcopal	6,013	6.4
Disciples	3,947	4.2
Congregational	2,593	2.8
Presbyterian, U.S.	1,600	1.7
Total	81,239	86.7

Most of the Protestant denominations belong in theology to the so-called evangelical group. Of the 10 per cent. not in the Church Federation, 3 per cent. are evangelical, though not sufficiently organized and standardized for effective coöperation. The divisions of Protestantism, therefore, are not unmitigated. There is substantial evidence of tendencies toward Protestant solidarity.

The largest denomination both in the city and in the suburbs is the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, followed in the city by the Evangelical, also a denomination of German origin. All told, churches of German-speaking origin contribute about 40 per cent. of the total Protestant membership. The Presbyterian, U.S.A., is the largest denomination of English-speaking origin, and the second largest of all in the suburbs. In the county outside of the urban territory the church membership is overwhelmingly in the churches of German origin.

NEGRO DENOMINATIONAL FAMILIES

Again, 95 per cent. of the membership of the Negro churches belongs to the Baptist and Methodist family groups, the ratios being Baptist, 57 per cent.; Methodist, 38 per cent.; other Protestants, 5 per cent.[2]

The largest denominational division among the Negro churches is the Antioch, one of the independent Baptist Associations, while the Berean Baptist Association and the African Methodist Episcopal denominations follow close together. The Antioch Association is one of the largest of the Protestant bodies other than those of German origin.

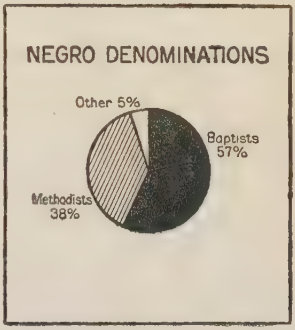


CHART 40

Nearly all Negroes are either Methodists or Baptists.

The Denominations in the Last Two Decades

As an aid to the interpretation of the present denominational situation in St. Louis the Survey made an extensive study of the leading denominations for the two last decades. Comparable statistics from 1899 to 1919 were obtained from the following: Baptist, Congregational, Evangelical, Lutheran, Methodist Episcopal, Methodist Episcopal South, Presbyterian U.S., Presbyterian U.S.A., Protestant Episcopal. These nine denominations constituted 82.5 per cent. of the Protestant membership in 1891. They are, therefore, clearly representative of the entire Protestant body.[3]

2 These ratios exactly correspond to those obtained by the limited household canvass of Negro families. This agreement tends to strengthen confidence in the Survey data even when based on a small sample.

3 The figures used in this chapter were compiled directly from denominational yearbooks. To avoid exceptional changes in single years and to obtain figures representative of tendencies lasting over a considerable period, the average figures of the three-year periods were taken when they were available. When complete figures were not available the average of the available years was substituted. The Lutheran financial statistics were so incomplete that they have been excluded from the comparison of financial items. The Methodist Episcopal figures throughout exclude the German Methodist Episcopal churches.

Between 1899 and 1919, the number of church organizations of the nine major denominations increased from 168 to 226, and their combined membership from 50,131 to 84,120. This increase as divided between city and suburbs is shown in Table XXVII.

TABLE XXVII—SUMMARY OF GAINS IN PROTESTANT CHURCHES AND CHURCH MEMBERSHIP IN ST. LOUIS FOR THE TWO THREE-YEAR PERIODS 1899–1901 AND 1917–1919.

	Average No. of Churches		*Increase*		*Average No. of Members*		*Increase*	
	1899–1901	*1917–1919*	*Number*	*Per cent.*	*1899–1901*	*1917–1919*	*Number*	*Per cent.*
City	134	172	38	28	46,608	74,117	27,502	59
Suburbs	34	54	20	59	3,521	10,002	6,481	184
Total ...	168	226	58	35	50,129	84,119	33,990	68

The churches have grown 35 per cent. in number and 68 per cent. in membership. More than one-third of the new churches and about one-fifth of the increased membership have been suburban, and relatively speaking, the suburbs have grown in both respects faster than the city.

GAINS IN CHURCH ORGANIZATIONS

The net growths in number of church organizations of the nine major denominations from 1899-1919 are shown in the accompanying chart. The Lutheran denomination has made the largest net gains in churches both in city and suburbs, having a total of thirty-six now, compared with seventeen two decades ago. It is followed in the city by the Evangelical, Presbyterian, U.S.A., Baptist and Methodist Episcopal, South; and in the suburbs by the Protestant Episcopal, Presbyterian, U.S.A., Methodist Episcopal, South, and Baptist. The Congregationalists show a net loss of two churches in the city. The largest absolute gains naturally fall to the largest denominations. As a result of the church organization of the last two decades the Evangelical and Methodist Episcopal denominations are relatively stronger in the city than they were before; all the other denominations are relatively stronger in the suburbs.

GROWTH IN MEMBERSHIP

The increase in membership from 1899 to 1919 is shown comparatively for the nine mentioned denominations in Appendix Table LXII, and their percentage increase in Chart No. XLI. As in the case of church organizations, the larger absolute gains fall to the

larger denominations. This illustrates the principle "To him that hath shall be given."

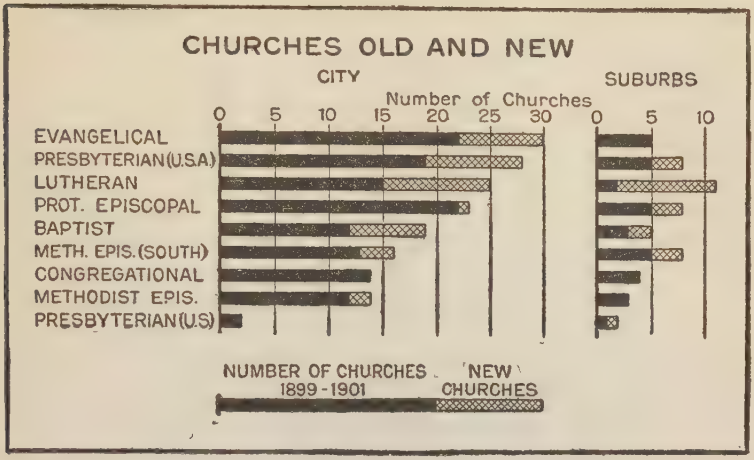


Chart 41

The black portion of the bars shows the number of St. Louis churches by larger denominations as they existed in 1899-1901 for city and suburbs. The shaded portion shows the number of new organizations established during the following two decades.

The rank of the denominations in rate of gain closely approximates that in absolute gain in five out of the nine cases. The rate

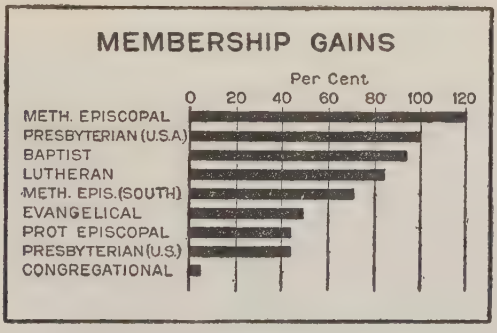


Chart 42

Per cent. of membership gain between 1899 and 1919 by larger denominations for St. Louis city and suburban churches.

of Lutheran and Evangelical increase, however, ranked considerably below their absolute increase, while the rate of Methodist Episcopal

increase was greatly above and that of Baptist increase considerably above their positions in the scale of absolute gains.

The Methodist Episcopal denomination more than doubled its membership (exclusive of the German churches), while the Congregational barely escaped an actual loss.

SUNDAY SCHOOL GROWTHS

Gains in average Sunday school enrollment for the twenty-one years, 1899-1919, are shown for the nine major denominations in Appendix Table LXIII, and their rate of increase in Chart No. XLII. In absolute gains the large denominations again lead.

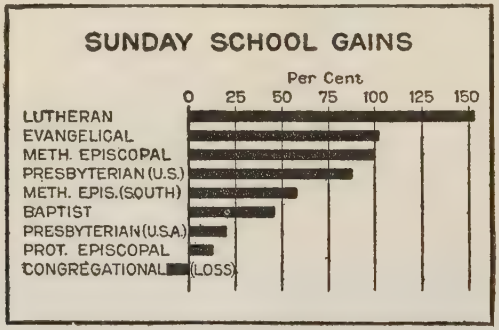


CHART 43

Per cent. of gains in Sunday school enrollment between 1899 and 1919 by larger denominations for St. Louis city and suburban churches.

In rate of gain, the Evangelical and Lutheran denominations both show more than 100 per cent., this being due to a change of policy within these decades with respect to Sunday school emphasis. The Methodist Episcopal denomination also shows more than 100 per cent. gain. At the other end, showing small rates of gain, are the Presbyterian, U.S.A., and Protestant Episcopal denominations, while the Congregationalists have suffered a loss of 11 per cent.

With respect to their rates of gain, the Presbyterian, U.S., is above its rank in absolute gains, and the Methodist Episcopal, South, and Presbyterian, U.S.A., are below their respective ranks. The gains of the other denominations are approximately the same from both standpoints.

DENOMINATIONAL FINANCIAL GROWTH

Since denominations vary so greatly in size the only legitimate basis for comparison in finances is the per capita one. The increase

of the combined denominations in per capita current expense for the twenty-one years has been only from $14.00 to $15.00. This means a small net growth. Most of the denominations have shown ups and downs which make comparison difficult. On the whole, the Evangelical seems to have made the largest percentage of gains, though the smallest absolutely, while the Presbyterian, U.S., and the Protestant Episcopal have also made considerable permanent gains if

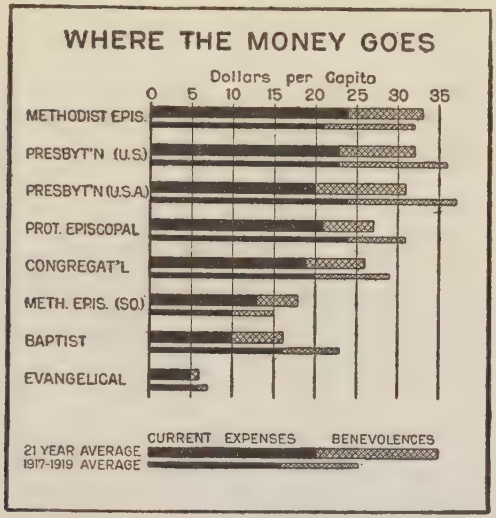


CHART 44

The average annual per capita contributions for current expenses and for benevolence for the period 1899 to 1919 are shown by the black and shaded portions of the bars respectively by the larger denominations for St. Louis city and suburban churches and compared with the annual average for the three years 1917 to 1919. Most of the denominations were doing better at the end of the twenty-one years than for the period as a whole.

the period be considered as a whole. The Methodist Episcopal, South, seems to have had a slight decrease, while the other denominations remain about what they were. This is as exact a statement of the statistical results as seems legitimate. There has been a slight general raising of the financial standard of church life as measured by per capita expenditures, but no decided or straightaway growth extending over a long period.[4]

4 The financial data for the major denominations as compiled from denominational year-books were studied in great detail. They are not strictly comparable because denominations differ in their accounting methods and because expenditures for permanent investment in property and plant are included with those which represent current expense. Even a comparison of the average expenditure for three-year periods is insuf-

GROWTH IN BENEVOLENCE

If all the denominations be taken together, there has been a growth in benevolence for the twenty-one-year period of from $4.00 per capita to $6.00. The Methodist, Congregational and Presbyterian, U.S.A., denominations have shown the largest percentage of growth, and exhibit a well-established tendency to maintain it. The

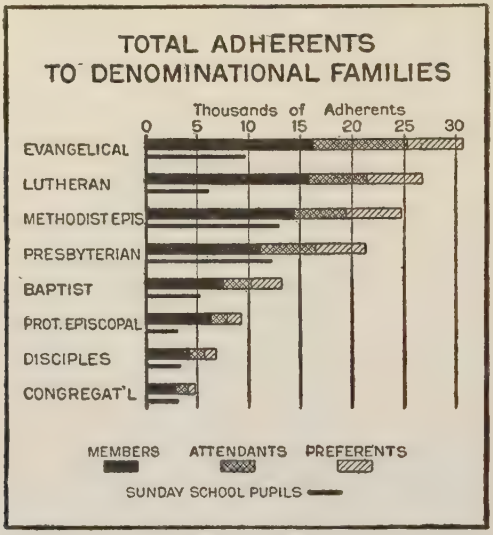


CHART 45

The total number and relative proportions of members, of non-member attendants and preferents, and of Sunday school pupils are shown for the leading denominational families.

Baptist and Evangelical denominations show the smallest gains. The Protestant Episcopal and Methodist Episcopal, South, also show less than average gains in benevolence.

The exceptional benevolent gifts and legacies in certain years and the changing definition of benevolence by certain denominations make closer comparison impossible.

TWO DECADES OF GROWTH

No radical change in the relative size of the nine denominations under consideration has taken place in twenty-one years. Some

ficient to absorb the irregularities caused by these factors. It has been thought safe, therefore, to interpret only on the basis of long-time trends. The standing of the denominations for the three-year periods at the beginning and at the end of the twenty-one years has been compared with other general tendencies over the whole period. Statements in the text are only what such long-time comparisons can substantiate. For denominational financial summaries see Appendix tables LXIV-LXVII.

have moved up a single place and others similarly have fallen back, but relative standing is about the same.

While the denominations have been growing in membership [5] they have, of course, also increased their constituencies. These should be considered in the summary of denominational growth.

The aggregate average membership of the ten largest denominations in the city proper for 1917-19 was 78,348. On the basis of the household survey this represented a total adherent body of 137,977.[6] Assigning this total to other denominational families according to the ratio discovered by the household canvass results in an estimate

TABLE XXVIII — AVERAGE NUMBER OF PROTESTANT CHURCH MEMBERS AND OF SUNDAY SCHOOL PUPILS 1917–19 AND ESTIMATED NUMBER OF WHITE ADHERENTS TO SPECIFIED DENOMINATIONAL FAMILIES, FOR CITY CHURCHES ONLY.[7]

Denomination	*Estimated Total Adherents*	*Members*	*Attend*	*Prefer*	*Sunday School Enrollment*
Baptist	13,159	7,501	2,895	2,763	5,251
Congregational	4,954	2,923	1,189	842	3,099
Disciples of Christ	6,713	4,229	1,343	1,141	3,415
Evangelical	30,858	16,046	9,257	5,554	9,813
Lutheran	26,797	15,810	5,627	5,359	6,031
Methodist	24,786	14,376	4,957	5,453	12,787
Presbyterian	21,373	11,114	5,557	4,702	12,313
Protestant Episcopal	9,337	6,349	1,587	1,401	3,061
Total	137,977	78,348	32,412	27,215	55,770

of their approximate adherence by three classes: Church members, attendants and preferrers. The relative size of the denominational families on this basis is also shown in the accompanying chart.

Sunday school attendance by denominational families for the same period is added for comparison.

The variations among the denominations as to ratio between members and other adherents are in no case sufficient to change their ranking according to size. They, therefore, follow the same numerical order both in number of members and in number of estimated total adherents.

The Sunday school variations are greater. The Lutheran denomination is second in average size of membership, but only fourth

5 The current statistics of the larger denominations have already been presented. In conformity with the principle of the Survey to use a longer period than one year as a basis for comparison, the average size of the denominations for the last full three years reported, namely, 1917-19, is used in the following table instead of the 1921 figures.

6 Appendix, page 285.

7 It is necessary to estimate total adherents by denominational families rather than by separate denominations, because in the case of the Methodist Episcopal and Presbyterian bodies the household canvass from which the ratios were ascertained did not distinguish between denominations within one family.

in Sunday school enrollment. The Congregational denomination is ninth in membership, but seventh in Sunday school enrollment. Another denomination strikingly below its size with respect to its Sunday schools is the Protestant Episcopal. Others above their position in Sunday school enrollment are the Presbyterian and Methodist Episcopal. These two denominational groups lead in absolute enrollment.

Divergent Tendencies: In Churches

Besides revealing very varying rates of gain in the aspects of church life most obviously comparable, the Survey shows that the denominations differ in other features. They differ, for example, in

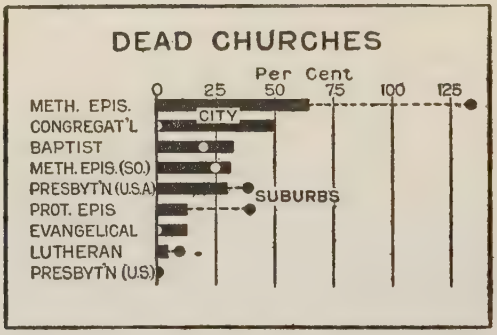


CHART 46

The percentage of lapsed churches relative to surviving ones for the period 1899 to 1919 is shown for leading denominations by bars for the city churches and by circles for the suburban churches.

the tendencies shown by their local church organizations. They reflect varying types of constituencies. They have divergent financial policies. They emphasize different kinds of service. These divergent tendencies will now be studied one after another.

PERMANENCE OF CHURCHES

Considering first denominational tendencies with respect to local church organizations, a striking difference is noted in the degree of wisdom shown by denominations in starting new churches, and in their ability to maintain them permanently. This is measured by their varying percentages of lapsed churches. The chart shows for city and suburb separately how large is the percentage of churches [7a]

[7a] See also Appendix, Table LXVIII.

of each denomination which have gone out of existence during the last twenty-one years relatively to the churches that still remain. The most cautious and successful denominations, as indicated by the fact that they have started numerous churches and lost very few of them, are the Evangelical and Lutheran. The Presbyterian, U.S. policy has also made no fatal mistakes in founding churches, but has only four churches all told. The Congregationalists have been successful in the suburbs.

Denominations showing average good judgment and success in the permanence of their churches are the Protestant Episcopal, Presbyterian, U.S.A., Baptist and Methodist Episcopal, South, in the city; and Baptist, Disciples and Methodist Episcopal, South, in the suburbs.

The denominations which have lost most churches relative to their present number are the Methodist Episcopal, the Congregational and the Disciples. The last have lost more churches than any other denomination. These three denominations have ventured upon enterprises within the city of St. Louis which did not have a substantial basis. The losses have been overcome in the case of the Methodist Episcopal denomination by an even larger number of successes. This denomination has also shown the largest percentage of losses in the suburbs, where the Protestant Episcopal and Presbyterian, U.S.A., have also been unfortunate.

While "nothing venture nothing have" is still a good working motto, it is clear that some of the denominations have shown greater practical wisdom than others. The effect of unwise caution cannot be measured, but it is clear that the penalty of taking undue risks is an excessive rate of infant mortality among churches.

SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL CHURCHES

That denominations differ greatly in the size of their individual churches is apparent from Table XXIX.[7b]

The range of difference in average size is somewhat amazing. To quote the extremes, the average Congregational church in the city proper is only about one-third the size of the average Lutheran church.

The order of average size in the local church is generally the order of size of the denomination. Large denominations tend to have large local units. But there are two striking exceptions. The Presbyterian, U.S.A., is third in numerical size, but only sixth in average size of the local church. The Presbyterian, U.S., on the contrary, is ninth in numerical size, but fifth in average size of the local church.

[7b] For same data exhibited by three-year periods, see Appendix, Table LXIX.

The large Lutheran and Evangelical churches evidently reflect the tradition of the geographical parish in which large constituencies are massed and controlled. The average size of the Lutheran church, has, however, declined in the city, though it has increased with all other denominations in the suburbs. The Evangelical denomination has grown very slowly. These facts would seem to show that the size of maximum efficiency has been exceeded in the larger churches of these denominations, many of which are not growing. Denominations of southern tradition have a longer history and larger natural constituency. Thus the Baptist and Methodist Epis-

TABLE XXIX — ANNUAL AVERAGE MEMBERSHIP PER CHURCH FOR THE NINE MAJOR PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONS OF ST. LOUIS IN THE TWENTY-ONE YEAR PERIOD, 1899-1919.

	Total		*City*		*Suburban*	
Denomination	*Members per Church*	*Rank*	*Members per Church*	*Rank*	*Members per Church*	*Rank*
Nine Denominations	338	..	395	..	145	..
Baptist	359	4	402	5	200	2
Congregational	201	9	212	9	180	3
Evangelical	460	2	508	4	216	1
Lutheran	482	1	594	1	150	5
Methodist Episcopal ..	227	8	303	7	57	8
Methodist Episcopal South	406	3	534	2	122	7
Presbyterian, U.S.A. ..	270	6	311	6	149	6
Presbyterian, U.S.	317	5	519	3	48	9
Protestant Episcopal ..	228	7	276	8	157	4

copal, South, denominations have larger average churches than have the distinctively northern denominations. The successful policies of the Methodist Episcopal and Presbyterian, U.S.A., denominations show in the rapid rate of growth registered by their churches, though they are still relatively small. The average Protestant Episcopal and Congregational church has been and remains small.

Probably no denomination would deliberately elect to have small churches; yet difference in average size is due in considerable measure to varying denominational policies of church expansion. A denomination may bend itself to the building up of strong churches by intensive effort or it may spread itself out thinly. The Congregationalists, for example, have been doing the latter. Judged by the average of the St. Louis churches, their churches are too small. If their resources were concentrated instead of dispersed these churches would probably be more successful.

PERCENTAGE OF CHURCHES GROWING

There are striking contrasts between denominations in this respect. They vary from a condition in which all the churches are growing in a given area and period to one in which all are losing. In all denominations but one some of the churches are losing somewhere some of the time as indicated in Chart 47 and Appendix Table LXX.

For the decade 1899-1909 the Presbyterian, U.S., denomination had no losses in the city, and the Methodist Episcopal and Methodist

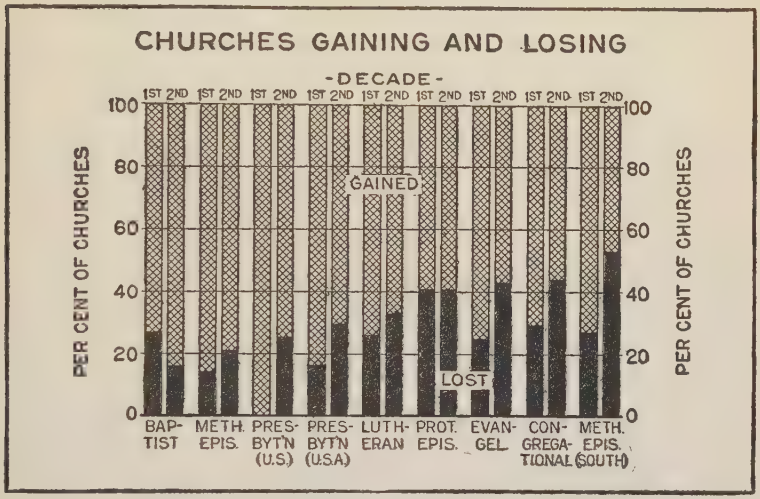


CHART 47

The percentage of churches gaining and losing in membership is shown by the larger denominations for the two decades 1899 to 1909 and 1909 to 1919 for city and suburban churches combined.

Episcopal, South, had more growing churches than the average. During the same period all the Baptist, Congregational, Lutheran and Presbyterian churches of both branches were growing in the suburbs.

On the other hand, the Baptists and Congregationalists had an unusual number of churches losing membership in the city, and the Protestant Episcopal denomination a majority losing, while the Evangelical and Methodist Episcopal, South, as well as the Protestant Episcopal, had many losing in the suburbs.

During the period 1910-1919 the Methodist Episcopal and Baptist denominations had growing churches beyond the average in the

city, while the Baptist, Lutheran and Presbyterian, U.S., denominations had none losing in the suburbs. The Congregational denomination also had gains in the majority of their suburban churches.

The denominations with excessive numbers of churches losing membership for this period in the city were the Evangelical, Congregational, Methodist Episcopal, South, and Presbyterian, U.S. The Methodist Episcopal, South, had many of its suburban churches losing during this period, while all the Methodist Episcopal suburban churches lost.

On the combined weight of both periods for city and suburbs combined, the Baptist, Methodist Episcopal and Presbyterian, U.S., denominations have most generally had churches gaining membership, followed by the Presbyterian, U.S.A., and Lutheran. The Evangelical denomination occupies a median position while the Congregational and Methodist Episcopal, South, denominations have had many churches losing, and the Protestant Episcopal most of all.

DISTRIBUTION OF ADHERENTS

The denominational families differ significantly, as revealed by the Household Canvass, in the geographical distribution of their adherents among the different sections of the city. Ranking in order of evenness of distribution, the denominational families stand as follows:

Denominational Family	*Rank*
Baptist	1
Congregational	2
Disciples	2
Lutheran	3
Methodist Episcopal	3
Protestant Episcopal	4
Presbyterian	4
Evangelical	5

The Baptists have the most even distribution in the city, their adherents being found on all levels and in all places, with little regard for social and environmental variations. Although the Congregationalists and Disciples are relatively small denominations and entirely absent from some districts, their large number of small churches has permitted them a wide distribution. Both of these denominations are relatively strong on the western border of the city and in the American sector, and the Disciples are also massed near the center.

Of the two denominations of German origin, the Lutherans are relatively diffused throughout the two distinctly German sectors on the north and south sides. The Evangelical denomination, on the

contrary, is more patchily distributed than any other. It is very weak over a large area of the city, but exceptionally strong in the south-side districts nearest the river and in the whole of the German-American north-side sector from the river to the western border.

Though widely diffused relatively, the Methodists are massed at the center of the city. Next to the Evangelical, the most unevenly distributed denominational families are the Protestant Episcopal and the Presbyterian. The former are very disproportionately located in the West End of the city (where they are two and one-half times as numerous as the other denominations) and in University City. That is to say, they are more exclusively associated with the highest class residential section than any other denomination. The Presbyterians are also largely massed in the West End, but have also a south-side center of concentration more marked than that of any other denomination of English-speaking origin.

Divergent Tendencies: In Constituencies

The denominations also show varying tendencies in the composition of their constituencies, which include not merely church members but Sunday school pupils and members of young people's and other types of organizations. Their relations have never been fully investigated. To throw light upon this point, the Survey took a sample of 74,374 confessed church adherents in St. Louis and asked them, "To what church do you belong?" "What church do you attend?" and "What church do you prefer?"

RATIO OF MEMBERS TO OTHER ADHERENTS

A comparison of the leading denominational families, on this point, gives the following results:

TABLE XXX—CLASSES OF PROTESTANT ADHERENTS BY DENOMINATIONS

Denomination	*Per cent. Members*	*Per cent. Attend* [8]	*Per cent. Prefer* [9]
Protestant Episcopal	68	17	15
Disciples of Christ	63	20	17
Congregational	59	24	17
Lutheran	59	21	20
Methodist	58	20	22
All Protestant Denominations	57	23	20
Baptist	57	22	21
Presbyterian	52	26	22
Evangelical	52	30	18
Other Protestant Denominations	45	27	28

8 This means attend but do not belong to any church.
9 This means prefer some particular denomination but do not belong to nor attend any church.

EXPLANATION OF DIFFERENCES

No theory has been previously attempted to account for the varying proportions of those who attend and those who prefer a given denomination but do not belong. Is there any norm which determines the desirable and healthy relation between such classes of adherents?

It will be observed that four out of eight denominations, constituting the middle half of the scale, are agreed closely as to the percentage of members to the other classes of adherents, namely, about six to four. Accepting this average as a provisional norm and a presumption of what the ratios ought to be leads to the question why some denominations have fewer than four other adherents to every six members, and others more.

It will next be observed that two denominations distinctly above the average in proportion of members to other adherents are relatively small ones, namely, the Disciples of Christ and the Protestant Episcopal. Relative to them the larger denominations seem to be able to attract more than their proportion of other adherents. "To him that hath shall be given." It would be quite in line with human experience to presume that the small membership of the small denominations stands in their way in attracting other adherents. Possibly also temperamental factors partly explain the phenomena in the cases of the two denominations in question. There may be something in them which seems to say, "Be full members or nothing."

Two denominations which draw other adherents very much beyond the average proportion of their membership are the Evangelical and Presbyterian, U.S.A. For some reason they are unable to capitalize their large adherent group by getting an average number of them into full membership. There may well be different causes for the same result in the two cases.

The case of the Evangelical denomination is almost certainly explained by one of the general tendencies discovered in connection with the study of the unchurched.[10] It was seen that the American-born of the first generation, the children of foreign or mixed parentage, tend to stand aloof from the church. A few are against it, more are outside of it. The present phenomenon probably justifies one in adding that more who are in the church are not fully in. They linger in the vestibule of church attendance and do not enter the sanctuary of membership.

Now, the Evangelical denomination is the exponent of liberalism within the churches of German origin. It draws from the

10 See page 87.

direction of the unchurched those who are susceptible to the claims of organized religion. It gets many of them as far as coming to church; but no farther. This peculiar relation to the first-generation American offers at least a plausible explanation of the facts discovered by the Survey.

The Presbyterian, U.S.A., denomination, on the other hand, has 114 Sunday school pupils for every 100 church members, while the average for the city is only 71 per 100. The possession by this denomination of so exceptional a source of adherents may well be counted a signal advantage, even though their assimilation into membership is less complete than in most of the other denominations.

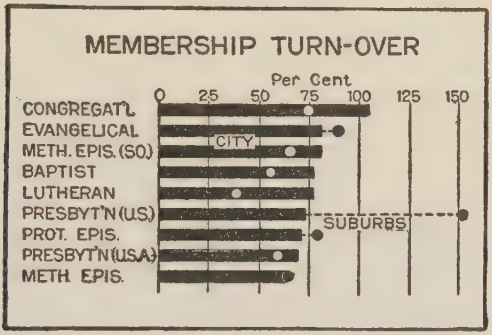


Chart 48

The ratio of membership losses to gains for the period 1899 to 1919 is indicated by larger denominations by bars for the St. Louis churches and by circles for the suburban churches.

If this large body of remote adherents are the presumptive members of to-morrow, it is a system of denominational advantage; if not, it may constitute a denominational handicap. At any rate it explains the facts of to-day.

This diagnosis will also explain why the Congregational—a small denomination—is not below the average percentage of members to other adherents, along with the Disciples of Christ and the Protestant Episcopal. It has 106 Sunday school pupils for every 100 members. The possession of this body of adherents tends to pull it up into the average level, whereas by virtue of its membership-size alone it would tend to sink toward the bottom.

These tentative theories seem to fit all the facts and are offered provisionally as explanations of the denominational variations between classes of adherents, so far as St. Louis is concerned.

CONSERVATION OF MEMBERS

Denominations differ widely in their ability to hold members whom they have already obtained.

The ratio of membership gains to losses for the major denominations for the twenty-one-year period, 1899-1919, is presented in Chart 48 and Appendix Table LXXI.

Some men become rich by making much money, others by saving much and others by doing both. The last is the surest way. It is just so with denominations. The best way to grow is to get members and then keep them. The following comparison shows that in general denominations with the smallest leakage have grown fastest.

Denomination	*Rank in Membership Gains*	*Rank in Favorable Ratio of Gains to Losses*
Methodist Episcopal	1	1
Presbyterian, U.S.A.	2	2
Baptist	3	3
Lutheran	4	5
Methodist Episcopal South	5	6
Evangelical	6	7
Protestant Episcopal[11]	7	4
Presbyterian, U.S.[11]	7	8
Congregational	8	9

[11] The Presbyterian, U.S., and Protestant Episcopal rank equally in rate of gain. On this account there are only eight ranking grades in the first column to nine in the second.

The denominations which have prospered both by gaining and keeping appear at the top of both columns. No denomination has been able to gain with more than average rapidity if it has high losses. Denominations gaining with medium rapidity, those showing medium losses, are the Methodist Episcopal, South, and the Lutheran. The one denomination gaining less than the average in spite of having low losses is the Protestant Episcopal, which has not been able to grow proportionately to this advantage. At the bottom of the list with slow growth and heavy losses are the Evangelical, Presbyterian, U.S., and Congregational.

Why should one denomination have a higher turnover of membership than another? The explanation is doubtless different in different cases and the complicated factors have not been statistically isolated. The death rate is such a factor. Some denominations actually have appreciably higher death rate than others. Mobility of population is probably a factor. In a number of cases the denominations suffering a great turnover of membership are strong

in districts where people are known to move most frequently. Ease of transfer is probably a factor. In connection with the study of parish areas it has been shown that the tendency of some denominations is toward compact parishes and of others toward scattered ones. The first, presumably, dismiss their distant members and devote themselves to building up their parish out of the near-by constituency. Lack of strong sectarian feeling facilitates transfer and hence an increased rate of turnover. Disintegration is undoubtedly a factor. Some denominations are not able to hold their own people, particularly the younger generation. How these and other factors combine to produce the results shown in the denominational comparison it is impossible to guess.

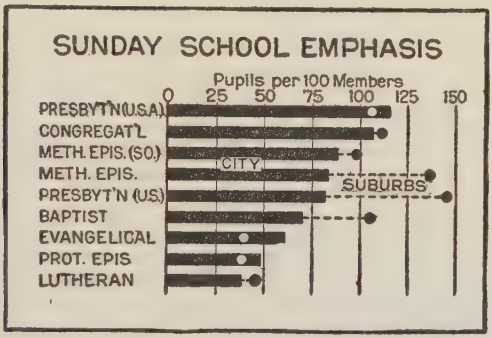


CHART 49

The ratio of Sunday school pupils to church members for the years 1917 to 1919 is shown by the larger denominations by bars for the St. Louis city churches and by circles for the suburban churches.

SUNDAY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT IN RELATION TO CHURCH MEMBERSHIP

In Table XXXI the size of Sunday school enrollment for the leading St. Louis denominations is given on the basis of the annual average number of pupils from 1899 to 1919. The ratio of this enrollment to church membership is thus calculated for each denomination.

The Presbyterian, U.S.A., and Congregational denominations have more Sunday school pupils than church members. All the others have less—down to the Lutherans, who have only a little more than one-third as many. These differences must reflect differences in policy, the motive for which may be partly theological or psychological.

Of course, the Sunday school is not the total resource of any denomination for religious education, and it is fair to recognize that those which are relatively lowest in Sunday school emphasis generally rely upon parochial schools. These schools spend far more time on studies with a definite Christian content than do the Sunday schools and are characterized by thorough indoctrination in Christian truth.

TABLE XXXI—AVERAGE NUMBER OF SUNDAY SCHOOL PUPILS ENROLLED PER HUNDRED CHURCH MEMBERS. 1917–1919. (THREE-YEAR AVERAGES.)

Denomination	*Total*	*City*	*Suburban*
Baptist	75	70	106
Congregational	107	106	111
Evangelical	70	61	39
Lutheran	39	38	46
Methodist Episcopal	94	83	136
Methodist Episcopal South	89	88	98
Presbyterian, U.S.A.	114	115	107
Presbyterian, U.S.	90	82	147
Protestant Episcopal	46	48	38
Nine Denominations	72	71	79

On the other hand, it seems clear that denominations having small natural constituencies in St. Louis have stressed the Sunday school because it furnishes an alternative method of growth. Light is thrown on this question by a study of the denominations which have more than an average number of Sunday school children outside their own natural constituencies. This is known to be true of the Congregational, Presbyterian and Methodist Episcopal groups, in contrast with the Evangelical, Lutheran and Protestant Episcopal. The Sunday schools of these latter denominations are composed more largely of children of their own families. The former de-

TABLE XXXII—RANKING OF DENOMINATIONS IN SUNDAY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF ADHERENTS UNDER TWENTY-FOUR YEARS OF AGE.

Denomination	*Per cent. Attending*	*Per cent. Not Attending*
(City Average)	57	43
Congregational	68	32
Presbyterian	67	33
Methodist Episcopal	58	42
Evangelical	57	43
Lutheran	53	47
Episcopal	53	47
Disciples	53	47
Baptist	53	47

nominations are clearly trying to build up out of acquired constituencies.

HOLDING YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE SUNDAY SCHOOL

At the same time the denominations which have the largest proportion of Sunday school pupils relative to membership are also the most successful in holding their young constituents in Sunday school, standing at the top of the list in this respect.

There are indirect evidences of slight differences between the denominational successes with the various age-groups. The Congregationalists, for example, with a general high position in Sunday school attendance, are particularly strong with children; the Baptists, with a low general position, are strong with adolescents, while the Evangelicals, with a median general position, are strong with children. The rank of the denominations with respect to the proportions of these young adherents belonging to or attending church shows less variation. Only the Methodist family appears above average and only the Evangelical below it.

TABLE XXXIII — AVERAGE ANNUAL PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE FOR LOCAL CHURCH SUPPORT, 1899–1919 AND 1917–1919.

Denomination	*Per Capita Expense* 1899–1919	1917–1919
Methodist Episcopal	$24.	$21.
Presbyterian, U.S.	23.	23.
Protestant Episcopal	21.	24.
Presbyterian, U.S.A.	20.	24.
Congregational	19.	20.
Methodist Episcopal South	13.	10.
Baptist	11.	16.
Disciples	11.	13.
Evangelical	5.	6.

Divergent Tendencies: In Finance

Denominational differences in current expenditures for local church support may best be studied by taking the average per capita expenditures of the entire twenty-one-year period, 1899 to 1919, for each major denomination, and also for the last triennium—1917-19, as in Table XXXIII.

The table shows the average Methodist Episcopal church paying for current church support almost five times as much during the last two decades as the average Evangelical church and more than three times as much in recent years. Does one denomination spend more because its members are more devoted or because they are wealthier

or because they are less efficient and have to spend more in order to get average services? The Survey assumes equal devotion. Any consumer's expenditures, however, reflect his judgment of what it is worth while to spend money for. Some denominations count preaching and pastoral ministry as worth more from a financial standpoint than others do. The tradition of the proper poverty of the clergy persists, but with unequal force as between the denominations. This is one element among others which enters into the denomination's standard of living. Some denominations are below the prevailing American standard and others above.

Differences in denominational expenditure also reflect to some extent the average per capita wealth. Some denominations can afford to pay more than others toward church support. Popular opinion would put the Presbyterian and Protestant Episcopal above the average in wealth and the Baptist and Evangelical below the average. It is impossible, however, fully to isolate this factor since no one has actually measured the wealth of the members of any denomination.

VARYING EFFICIENCY

It is impossible to imagine that differences in per capita wealth can explain the fact that the Methodist Episcopal church costs five times as much to operate as the Evangelical. Can it be that it is not spending its money to as good advantage? The most natural clew in this matter is to remember that the church as a business enterprise follows the usual law of such enterprises—the size of the business as related to the overhead determines what proportion of total costs will have to go to pay overhead charges. That factor of the size of the local unit as actually related to current expenditure is shown in the following comparison based on fifty-eight churches distributed among all denominations covering the period 1908 to 1919.

Number of Members	*Number of Churches*	*Average Annual Current Expenditure per Capita*
50–100	16	$19.36
100–200	18	19.23
200–300	24	15.87

The churches involved in the above comparison are the typical family churches which constitute the most numerous type in St. Louis. It is fair to compare only those doing similar work. Where elaborate social service work is involved, no comparison on the basis of size is appropriate. This feature was so frequently found in churches of more than 300 membership that the comparison in the size-groups

could not be carried up further. It is a striking discovery, however, that churches of less than 100 members are paying just twice as much per capita as churches of over 900 members.[12] How this tendency works out for the several denominations is apparent from Table XXXIV.

It is seen that the rank by number of members is almost the reverse of the rank by per capita current expenses. That is to say, the almost invariable tendency is for denominations having small churches to have a high per capita expenditure, while those having large churches have a lower per capita current expenditure.[13] A small denomination has a high per capita expenditure because it

TABLE XXXIV—COMPARISON AND RANKING OF DENOMINATIONS BY AVERAGE SIZE OF LOCAL CHURCH AND BY AVERAGE PER CAPITA CURRENT EXPENDITURES, 1899–1919.

	Average Members per Church	*Rank by Average Number of Members*	*Rank by Average per Capita Current Expenditures*
Evangelical	460	1	8
Methodist Episcopal South	406	2	6
Baptist	359	3	7
Presbyterian, U.S.	317	4	2
Presbyterian, U.S.A.	270	5	4
Protestant Episcopal	228	6	3
Methodist Episcopal	227	7	1
Congregational	201	8	5

must have one in order to keep its inefficient units going. Investment in a large number of small churches is bound to put a heavy per capita burden upon membership. If the church situation as a whole be considered, an average rather than an excessive per capita expenditure is, therefore, a mark of excellence. The high expenditure probably indicates that the denomination is not getting the most that it should for its money.

PROPERTY INVESTMENTS

Similar considerations help to explain differences among denominations in investment in property. Data for the per capita investment in church property for the twenty-one-year period were available from only five denominations, as follows:

12 The fact that the smallest churches are the most costly *considering the work they do* has had very complete statistical demonstration throughout a study, as yet unpublished, of 1,000 city churches made under the auspices of the Committee on Social and Religious Surveys, now the Institute of Social and Religious Research.

13 The only notable exception is that of the Presbyterian, U.S., denomination which has only two large and expensive West End churches.

Denomination	*Per Capita Investment in Church Property*	*Average Members per Church*
Congregational	$168.	201
Methodist Episcopal	128.	227
Methodist Episcopal South	96.	406
Disciples of Christ	90.	428
Evangelical	72.	460

For the above denominations, where comparable data are available, per capita investment in property correlates directly with and is in inverse ratio to the size of the average church, and also, incidentally, to the size of the denomination. The explanation would seem to be that local churches in a given environment, in order to compete successfully, must have about the same kind of property that their neighbors have. A denomination, therefore, which has its churches well distributed throughout the city cannot avoid meeting the average current standard of expenses for church plant in the different sections. By going off and living in a corner of the city, or in the suburbs where expenses are low, it might avoid a high rate of expenditure on property; if, on the other hand, as in the case of the Presbyterian, U.S., denomination, it has few churches in an expensive part of the city, its per capita property investment will doubtless be very high, even though the churches are large. But a small denomination with many and well distributed small churches, paying for the same type of facilities as a larger one, will manifestly have a larger per capita investment. The only virtue involved in superiority in this aspect of church finance is the virtue of necessity.

VARIATIONS IN BENEVOLENCE

Denominational differences in per capita benevolence, as shown in the following enumeration, are striking.[14]

Denomination	*Per Capita Benevolence*
Baptist	$ 5
Congregational	7
Evangelical	1
Methodist Episcopal	9
Methodist Episcopal South	5
Presbyterian, U.S.	9
Presbyterian, U.S.A.	11
Protestant Episcopal	6

To interpret these differences fairly one should know the comparative wealth and the history of each denomination. On the face of the returns, over the period of two decades, the Presbyterian

[14] This comparison shows the benevolence for the entire period, 1899-1919.

denomination has been giving ten times as much as the Evangelical. Naturally, a group of foreign-language churches only gradually coming into the full swing of American ecclesiastical life, would be slower to stress missionary benevolence than denominations more largely native. Probably also the basis of accounting was radically different. As between native denominations it is only natural that one or another would first gain a keener viewpoint as to Christian duty and opportunity and that the rest would catch up gradually. All have been leaders in some respects and followers in others.[15]

COMPARATIVE TOTAL EXPENDITURES

Combining the average total denominational expenditures for the twenty-one-year period gives the results shown in Chart 44.[16] The legitimacy of combining current expenditures and benevolences into one total as a basis for denominational comparisons is doubtful. As has been shown, current expenditures in the main are overhead charges on a certain body of business transacted by ecclesiastical units of a given size; consequently a reflection of economic compulsion. Benevolence, on the other hand, is comparatively free and expresses a spirit of giving and devotion. A denomination composed of small inefficient church units, with only average benevolence, may show a relatively higher place in total per capita expenditure than a more efficient and more benevolent one. This point of view has never been appreciated in ecclesiastical accounting.

VARYING EMPHASIS IN BENEVOLENCE

It is possible to compare the larger denominations not merely as to the total average amount given annually to benevolence, but as to the particular fields of benevolence to which the gifts go. These differences must be due to denominational policy and pressure based on varying understandings of what is important or central in Christian service. How they work out is shown in further detail in Table XXXV.

Taking the average of the denominations as furnishing a working standard of properly distributed benevolence, it appears that the Presbyterian, U.S.A., denomination maintains the most even balance of emphasis upon the various fields of benevolence; after it, the Protestant Episcopal and Methodist Episcopal. The other denominations show very definite bias in one direction or another; the

15 For a fuller statement of the uncertainties of the twenty-one year financial data, see page 179.

16 Based on Appendix, Tables LXIV and LXVI.

Methodist Episcopal, South, and Congregational emphasize home missions; and the Presbyterian, U.S., tends strongly to foreign missions; the Presbyterian, U.S.A., and Evangelical to education; the Baptist and Evangelical to "other benevolence." The Evangelical denomination has the least balanced habits in benevolence, judged by its departure from the average on all points. The Baptist, however, shows the most extreme bias in a single direction, over two-thirds of its giving going to "other benevolence"—largely to the support of Baptist philanthropies in St. Louis.

TABLE XXXV—PERCENTAGE BY DENOMINATIONS OF AVERAGE ANNUAL BENEVOLENT CONTRIBUTIONS, CITY AND SUBURBS, GOING TO SPECIFIED FIELDS OF BENEVOLENCE, FOR 1899–1919, COMPARED WITH THOSE FOR 1917–1919.

Denominations	1899–1919				1917–1919			
	Home Missions	Foreign Missions	Education	Other Benevolences	Home Missions	Foreign Missions	Education	Other Benevolences
Baptist	11	20	6	63	9	13	4	74
Disciples of Christ	17	31	3	49	24	28	3	45
Congregational	39	14	12	35	27	14	5	54
Evangelical	11	11	19	59	8	8	22	62
Methodist Episcopal	23	19	7	51	35	16	2	47
Methodist Episcopal South	42	18	4	36	18	11	6	65
Presbyterian, U.S.A.	28	18	18	36	26	23	29	22
Presbyterian, U.S.	34	33	13	20	25	30	20	25
Protestant Episcopal	30	15	7	48	33	22	1	44
Nine denominations	28	18	11	43	24	18	13	45

As the above paragraph suggests, the denominations differ considerably in their contributions to Christian interest other than denominational in the St. Louis community. The exact differences lie hidden within the nondescript category of "other benevolences." It is known that for a number of denominations besides the Baptist the larger part of this item is given to local denominational philanthropies.[17]

POLICY AS TO INSTITUTIONAL PHILANTHROPY

On the contrary, certain strong denominations, notably the Presbyterian, U.S.A., make little or no investment in institutional philanthropy. The way is open to suspect that denominations which thus do little or nothing in local philanthropy *in their own names* may be among leaders in the support of inter-denominational and

[17] See Appendix, Table LVI.

non-denominational Christian activities. Some of them have a relatively high place in the amount of their "other benevolences," as indicated in the last table. Since one knows that they do not spend the money thus accounted for on local denominational institutions, nor for home or foreign missions nor for education, they must have spent it upon such objects as the Y. M. C. A., Church Federation or Near East Relief. There is thus a certain alternative between stress on local denominational institutions and leadership in the greater interdenominational projects of St. Louis and of the world. No statistical data exist, however, as a basis for exact comparisons in this realm.

COMMUNITY SERVING CHURCHES

In this field there is no great uncertainty as to the churches to be included. Twelve preëminent churches are recognized by the Public Welfare Department of the city government and by the Council of Social Agencies as constituting significant community centers carrying on institutional and social work. These are divided denominationally as follows:

Protestant Episcopal	4
Presbyterian, U.S.A.	3
Methodist Episcopal	2
Methodist Episcopal, South	1
Baptist	1
Evangelical	1

This list indicates the varying degrees in which the denominations are stressing the social applications of religion through the local church.

Further denominational comparisons of value could have been carried out, which would have taken account of particular church facilities, specified parish activities, types of Sunday school equipment and instruction. No complete generalization, however, seemed possible on the basis of data at hand. In general, the denominations which spend the most per capita and which have shown themselves most adaptive—as indicated in the stressing of social work—are also most likely to try the more novel and "modern" types of local parish equipment and activity. In other words, the one-fifth of the churches which have departed from the dominant family church type of parish organization (other than the Holiness group) are chiefly Protestant Episcopal, Presbyterian, U.S.A., Methodist Episcopal and Methodist Episcopal, South.

Why Denominations Grow

Summarizing the evidence of the preceding sections of the chapter as bearing on this question, it is clear that denominations grow absolutely, somewhat in proportion to their size. A large number of local churches as centers and a large membership as a recruiting force cannot fail to produce these results if reasonable industry and good sense are exercised. With the growing homogeneity of the growing denominations no one has an immense advantage over the other. Consequently they are likely to grow in the future somewhat in proportion to their present size, which has not shifted greatly in two decades.

The real problem is that of rate of growth. What makes one denomination grow faster than another?

The evidence of the chapter shows probable causes pertaining to church organization as follows:

(1) A denomination grows by founding new churches.

(2) A denomination grows if its churches already in existence survive.

When a church organization lapses, its membership is not fully transferred to other churches, so that there is a net decline in denominational strength.

(3) A denomination grows by gains in membership on the part of its various church units. A large number of growing units implies wise establishment and good administration. When these factors have brought churches to a certain size, size itself appears to be an influence, the advantage being with medium-sized churches.

Factors pertaining to constituencies also enter largely into the question of relative growth.

(4) A denomination grows by conservation of members. As has been shown, no denomination having excessive losses relative to gains is growing fast.

(5) A denomination grows when it has a large Sunday school constituency to draw from. This tendency is not invariable, but it is an important factor in a number of cases.

(6) A denomination grows when it has a large total adherent body. The Sunday school constituency is an important factor in an adherent group, but not the only one. Denominations which have few other adherents relative to their memberships generally cannot grow fast.

(7) A denomination grows when it has a large immigrant constituency. This factor has not had earlier consideration for the reason that the evidence is not based directly on the Survey, but upon more general census data. It is evident, however, that with

the decrease of foreign immigration of the past decade and the vastly increased contribution of native-born rural whites to the growth of the city, those denominations have had the advantage that have had the largest number of rural recruits.

These rural recruits seem to come from the middle Mississippi Valley which constitutes the immediate trade area of St. Louis. Those denominations which have a greater rural strength in this area have necessarily had the advantage in growth. These are the Methodist Episcopal, Disciples of Christ, Baptist, Methodist Episcopal, South, and Lutheran, in the order of their mention. The Presbyterian denomination occupies an intermediate position with respect to rural strength. On the other hand, the Northern Baptist, Congregational and Protestant Episcopal denominations are weak in the rural trade area of St. Louis and are elsewhere more largely urban. They must, therefore, look for growth in the slighter interchange of urban population.[18]

RELATION OF FACTORS OF GROWTH TO ACTUAL INCREASE

The actual increase of the denominations during the last two decades corresponds very closely with the ranking of each according to the combined weight of these factors as shown in the following comparison:

Denomination	*Rank by Actual Rate of Increase*	*Rank by Factors of Growth*
Methodist Episcopal	1	1
Presbyterian, U.S.A.	2	3
Baptist	3	2
Lutheran	4	4
Methodist Episcopal South	5	5
Evangelical	6	8
Protestant Episcopal	7	6
Presbyterian, U.S.	7	5
Congregational	8	8

The two methods of ranking yield consistent results. The Methodist Episcopal, South, denomination occupies an intermediate position. The denominations in the upper half of one column are in the upper half of the other, and the denominations in the lower half of one are in the lower half of the other.

Exact correspondence in ranking was not to be expected because of the unequal weight of the factors of growth. The Survey makes no assumption that they are equal, but merely points out that the combined operation of these factors explains very admirably the relative growth of the denominations compared.

18 United States Census of Religious Bodies, 1916.

PROSPECTS OF FUTURE GROWTH

Although certain of the factors of growth might be modified by change in the denominational policy, it is likely that the relative prospects of the denominations for the future are about what they have been in the immediate past. The Methodist Episcopal and Presbyterian, U.S.A., denominations have the best chance for rapid growth. The Methodist Episcopal, South, and Lutheran denominations have an average chance, and the Presbyterian, U.S., Protestant Episcopal, Evangelical and Congregational denominations a poor chance, unless they can mend some of their ways in the direction of greater efficiency and success.

Comparative Standing of the Denominations To-day

Because of obvious differences in history and standards, as well as in present size and wealth, there is no absolute ground for calling one denomination better or poorer than another. Growth is at best only a by-product of excellence. All denominations are good and faithful servants if they have wrought well with what was committed to them as the religious heritage of the past. It is interesting and suggestive, however, to compare their relative standing still further with respect to objective criteria. Thirteen such criteria have been chosen as a basis of the calculation of denominational rank appearing in Table XXXVI. They are listed in the headings of the respective columns.[19]

The significance of most of the criteria in Table XXXVI will readily be evident. It goes without saying that denominations which have made large and rapid gains in churches, members and Sunday school pupils and which have large Sunday schools relative to church membership are considered successful. Obviously, also, to have had few churches die and many churches gaining members most of the time is a sign of denominational health. High per capita benevolence will have universal approval, and high per capita current expenditures are also commonly accounted desirable. Reasons have been given [20] for believing that average sized churches are the most efficient. Consequently the denominations have been rated according to their approximation to such average size. This criterion, however, is used with less assurance.

The relative rank of each denomination on each of the thirteen points appears in the table, the first column of which gives their standing on the combined weight of all points. As the result of the

19 These criteria report items already enumerated as factors of growth so far as they are not merely fortuitous but subject to control.

20 See page 194.

TABLE XXXVI — RANK OF DENOMINATIONS ACCORDING TO THIRTEEN CRITERIA

Denomination	Rank on Thirteen Criteria	Size, 1917–1919	Gains in Number of Church Organizations	Gains in Church Membership	Per cent. of Gains in Church Membership	Gains in Sunday School Enrollment	Per cent. of Gains in Sunday School Enrollment	Ratio of Lapsed to Surviving Churches	Variation from Efficient Size	Per cent. of Churches Gaining, 1899–1919	Ratio of Sunday School Enrollment to Church Membership	Average per Capita Current Expenses	Average per Capita Benevolence	Balanced Benevolence Distribution
Presbyterian, U.S.A.	1	3	2	2	2	5	7	6	2	4	1	4	1	1
Methodist Episcopal	2	7	7	6	1	4	3	8	4	1	3	1	2	3
Methodist Episcopal South	3	4	5	4	5	3	5	5	2	3	5	6	5	4
Baptist	4	5	3	5	3	6	2	3	1	2	6	7	3	5
Evangelical	4	2	4	3	6	1	2	3	5	6	7	8	6	6
Presbyterian, U.S.	5	9	8	8	7	7	4	1	1	7	4	2	2	5
Protestant Episcopal	6	6	6	7	7	8	8	4	3	8	8	3	4	2
Congregational	7	8	9	9	8	9	9	7	6	5	2	5	3	4
Lutheran [21]	..	1	1	1	4	2	1	2	7	7	9	..	..	..

[21] Since no returns for three of the columns were available from the Lutheran denomination, on account of lack of clear financial data, this denomination could not be ranked on the total of the thirteen criteria. Its trend shown in the items for which data were available is above the median.

calculation the Presbyterian, U.S.A., appears to be the "best" denomination in the above sense, and the Congregational the "poorest."

In general, the denominations which are chiefly of southern antecedents tend to occupy the median place. They are the original Protestant stocks in St. Louis and still remain the common denominator of Protestant development. Denominations of German origin are large in size and growth but characteristically rank low in Sunday school emphasis and in finances.

Denominations largely of northern antecedents are either succeeding very well indeed or very poorly, and even those which are succeeding best show quite erratic variations in standing from item to item. It is worth repeating that they have to create constituencies where natural ones do not exist. They are doing it, if at all, chiefly through the Sunday school. The Episcopal church does not stress the Sunday school, which possibly tends to explain its standing; but even large Sunday schools have not been sufficient to turn the tide for the Congregational denomination, whose churches are relatively too numerous and feeble.

Chapter XI

THE CITY CHURCH A HIGH HAZARD

If church fortunes were insurable, would the average city church be considered a good risk? The Survey's investigations disclose many reasons why it would not be. The city church has an extra hazardous calling. The farmers of Missouri would be disheartened if, for example, they knew how small and weak an institution the really typical metropolitan church is; if they knew how many of these churches die, or fail to grow, or have to move, how many members they lose and how hard it is to keep them up. The evidence furnishes no ground for complacency. The city itself is a tremendous risk—the great adventure of civilization. The church in the city faces a new, complex and rapidly shifting phase of human society. There is comfort in facing the facts and knowing the worst. This comfort the Survey brings. It also brings proof of a good measure of success. The risks are adequately justified by the results. The high hazard is not too great for the high heart. The first ground for this verdict is found in the general status of Protestantism.

The Status of Protestantism

The total of the Protestant forces measured by organizations and membership in metropolitan St. Louis is expressed in the following summary:

TABLE XXXVII—THE PROTESTANT FORCES OF METROPOLITAN ST. LOUIS

	White	*Negro*	*Total*
Metropolitan District			
Denominations	46	16	..
Churches	376	122	498
Members	109,741	31,086	140,827
City			
Denominations	45	16	..
Churches	285	102	387
Members	93,671	29,921	122,962
Suburbs			
Denominations	13	4	..
Churches	60	17	77
Members	11,423	1,077	12,500
Rural			
Denominations	7	1	..
Churches	31	3	34
Members	4,647	88	4,735

These numbers stand for a total adherent body in the city proper divided racially as follows:

White	210,669
Negro	57,252
Total	267,921

This constitutes 34 per cent. of the population of St. Louis.[1]

These combined Protestant forces have a property investment in churches and philanthropies of more than $17,000,000 in the city proper. Their annual expenditures for current church support are approximately a million and a quarter and their annual benevolences more than half a million dollars.[2] This is an impressive total.

GROWTH OF PROTESTANTISM

Judged by its nine leading denominations Protestantism has made an increase of 59 per cent. in membership in two decades in the city and 184 per cent. in the suburbs; this being a total increase of 68 per cent. for the metropolitan district. The number of churches increased during the same period 28 per cent. in the city, 59 per cent. in the suburbs and 35 per cent. in the entire metropolitan area.

TABLE XXXVIII—INCREASE IN PROTESTANT CHURCH MEMBERSHIP OF NINE DENOMINATIONS IN ST. LOUIS AND SUBURBS, 1899–1919, BY THREE-YEAR PERIODS.[3]

	Total		*City*		*Suburbs*	
Years	*Average Number*	*Per cent. Increase*	*Average Number*	*Per cent. Increase*	*Average Number*	*Per cent. Increase*
1899–1901	50,131	...	46,608	...	3,521	...
1902–1904	56,555	12.8	51,686	10.9	4,870	38.3
1905–1907	63,405	12.1	57,445	11.1	5,959	22.3
1908–1910	68,736	8.4	61,682	7.4	7,055	18.4
1911–1913	73,555	7.0	65,403	6.0	8,152	15.5
1914–1916	80,912	10.0	71,524	9.4	9,389	15.1
1917–1919	84,120	4.0	74,118	3.6	10,002	6.5

The preceding table showed the percentage of increase or decrease of membership for each three-year period relative to the preceding one. The following table shows the cumulative percentage increase over 1899-1901 as a base.

1 Page 49. On an approximate estimate, Protestant adherents constitute about 30 per cent. of total suburban population.

2 Figures for 1919 as reported by Church Federation substantiated by comparison with U. S. Census of Religious Bodies, 1916, Pt. I, page 485.

3 While the nine denominations for which statistics for a considerable period are available are better organized than many of the smaller ones not covered by data, they have probably not shown any greater percentage of growth. Many of the small denominations have made their appearance within the period involved so that their relative growth has been great. The above percentages of increase are, therefore, very conservative for Protestantism as a whole.

TABLE XXXIX — RELATIVE MEMBERSHIP OF NINE DENOMINATIONS IN ST. LOUIS AND SUBURBS, 1899–1919.

Year	*Total*	*City*	*Suburbs*
1899–1901	100	100	100
1902–1904	115	111	138
1905–1907	126	123	169
1908–1910	136	132	200
1911–1913	147	140	232
1914–1916	161	153	267
1917–1919	168	159	284

However impressive the size and rapid the growth of any factor of city life, it is in danger of immediately being dwarfed by something still greater. The real question is always one of relative standing.

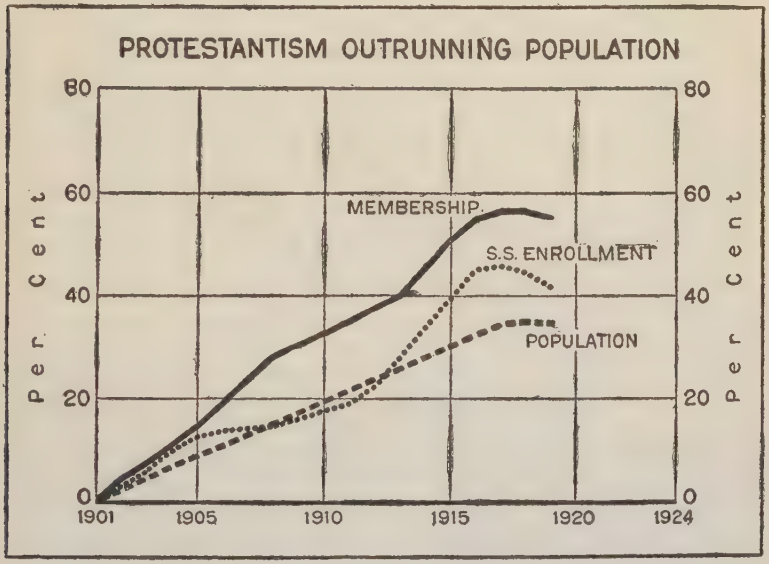


CHART 50

While St. Louis grew 34 per cent. in population between 1900 and 1920 Protestantism grew 59 per cent. in church membership and 41 per cent. in Sunday school enrollment.

From this standpoint also, Protestantism in St. Louis makes an encouraging showing. Between 1899 and 1919 it grew more rapidly than population as is shown in the accompanying chart (No. 50). Protestantism made extremely rapid growth in the suburbs, gaining 184 per cent. while the suburban population gain was but 101 per cent. In city and suburbs together, church membership grew faster than total population, increasing 68 per cent. while the metropolitan area was gaining 40 per cent.

K. C. K.

But it is a question whether Protestant growth can fairly be contrasted with the total increase of population for the reason that foreign-born people are little open to Protestantism's appeal. Now foreign-born population in St. Louis has declined relative to native-born. As a result of the historical survey in Chapter I it was urged that the Protestant Church ought to catch up with its urban problem because it is now dealing more largely with people of its own sort.

PROTESTANT GAINS RELATIVE TO INCREASE OF NATIVE-BORN

Taking the native-born population alone, as having more natural affinity for Protestantism than has the total population, and comparing its growth with that of church membership, the showing for the St. Louis churches is still good, but not so good.

Dividing the twenty-one year period into equal parts, as in the following table, one finds membership growing 10 per cent. more than the native-born group during the first decade, but only 6 per cent. more during the second decade. In the suburbs membership in the second period shows larger growth than in the first, exceeding both that of the native-born and of the total population.

TABLE XL—PER CENT. INCREASE IN NATIVE-BORN POPULATION IN ST. LOUIS CITY AND COUNTY COMPARED WITH THAT OF TOTAL POPULATION AND WITH THAT OF PROTESTANT CHURCH MEMBERSHIP OF NINE MAJOR DENOMINATIONS.

	1900–1910			*1910–1920*			*1900–1920*		
	City	*County*	*Total*	*City*	*County*	*Total*	*City*	*County*	*Total*
Total Population ..	19.4	64.7	23.1	12.5	22.2	13.5	34.4	101.1	39.7
Native Born	20.6	74.6	25.1	16.0	27.7	17.4	39.9	122.9	46.8
Native parentage .	42.6	101.6	48.5	33.2	39.9	34.1	90.0	182.0	99.1
Foreign and mixed parentage	3.2	43.5	6.1	—2.9	8.1	—1.8	00.3	55.1	4.2
Church Membership	32.4	100.4	35.8	20.1	43.2	23.5	59.0	186.0	67.8

Spreading these gains over the period as a whole still leaves Protestantism comfortably ahead of native-born population in rate of gain for the city and for the city and suburbs combined. It is not more ahead than it should be in view of the fact that in this comparison Protestantism is dealing with its own sort of people.

MEMBERSHIP GROWTH RELATIVE TO POPULATION

While the rate of increase both of population and of church membership slows down in the last decade, it is to be noted that church membership increase slows down more than does population increase. This fortunately was not true of the suburbs; but the number of people living there is relatively small. For the total

metropolitan area the church is not growing as much faster than population now as it was from 1900 to 1919.

SUNDAY SCHOOL GROWTH

Enrollment in the Sunday schools of the nine major Protestant denominations for the years 1899 to 1919 shows a more rapid increase than is shown by population both in city and suburbs.

	Total	*City*	*Suburban*
Sunday School Enrollment Increase	50%	41%	171%
Population Increase	40%	34%	101%

This pleasing rate of growth, however, is not so great as that of the churches, and its retardation in the second decade as compared with the first is more striking. Such a discrepancy between church membership and Sunday school gains constitutes one of the crucial problems of Protestantism.

THE CHURCH AND THE CITY

The gains of Protestantism as above registered have come in two waves. The first covered roughly the six years 1902 to 1907, the second the three years 1914 to 1916. The first paralleled the World's Fair boom and the second the expansion of the city in the early years of the World War. This phenomenon of church progress by spurts registered in number of churches, in membership and Sunday school enrollment and in current finance and benevolence. It shows how closely the fortunes of Protestantism are identified with those of the city. This is as one would wish it to be.[3a]

WHAT IS SUCCESS?

How fast ought Protestantism to have grown? What rate would constitute relative success? Protestantism's dependence upon general conditions is now manifest. It had to wait till a turn of the population tide to make the present showing. It made encouraging gains as a result of the more favorable tendency, but these gains are diminishing. A comparison of other cities is not much to the point because in their history and the composition of their populations they differ so much from St. Louis. If the Roman Catholic returns for St. Louis in the 1906 Census of Religious Bodies are equated with those of 1916, and the resulting rate of increase it is assumed as holding over the two decades 1899 to 1919, the rate of Protestant gain for this period appears to be rather better than the Catholic. It should be, because population movement was running in its favor. But has St. Louis Protestantism done as well as Protestantism in the other cities; and has Protestantism in St. Louis

[3a] See Tables LXIII, LXIV and LXVI.

done as well as the Roman Catholic communion in St. Louis, considering the population elements available to each? No absolute answer is possible. Although the slackening of gains relative to population toward the last decade does not constitute a promising tendency, the total evidence is at least somewhat encouraging.

Factors of Institutional Risk

The present status of Protestantism is merely the net result of its historic fortunes as they ebb and flow. The above summary has made no account of the losses necessarily sustained. Winning a campaign is not the same as winning a war; and in order to judge the standing of Protestantism to-day it is necessary to know at what cost of energy and wealth it has maintained its existence. In this inquiry particularly the high hazard of the city church becomes apparent.

Many St. Louis Churches Have Died. Between 1899 and 1919 fifty-seven churches of the nine major denominations passed out of existence—forty-three in the city and fourteen in the suburbs, giving a ratio for defunct to living churches of 25 per cent. for the city and 26 per cent. for the suburbs.

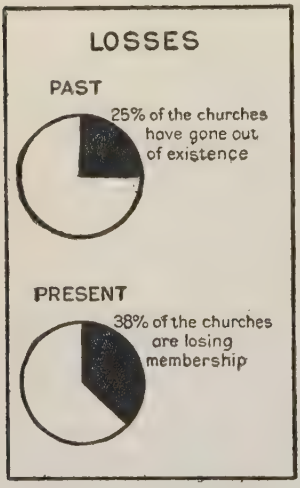


CHART 51

Churches in city and suburbs, which went out of existence between 1899 and 1919 equaled 25 per cent. of those surviving to the later date. Thirty-six per cent. were smaller in 1919 than they had been twenty years earlier.

The denominations experiencing these losses were among the best organized and best sustained; certainly the record of the others could have been no better. The result is a mortality rate of 25 per cent., which clearly shows that the typical church is a high hazard.

Many St. Louis Churches are Losing Members. The collective gains of Protestantism as shown for the two last decades have taken place in spite of the fact that many churches have been losing membership. Frequently this was the prelude to dissolution. The number and proportion gaining and losing for the nine major denominations in the city and suburbs are shown for the two decades in the following table.

Christ Church Cathedral

Centenary Church, M. E. South

THE ONLY REMAINING REGULAR CHURCHES OF THE DOWN-TOWN DISTRICT

LAST TO GO BUT GOING
Washington-Compton Presbyterian Church, whose approaching removal will complete the Exodus of Old-Time Churches from District IX

A HEAVEN FOR CHURCHES
Immanuel Episcopal—on the wide lawns of Spacious Webster Groves

TABLE XLI — NUMBER AND PER CENT. OF CHURCHES WHICH HAVE GAINED OR LOST IN MEMBERSHIP, 1899–1909 AND 1909–1919.

	1899–1909				1909–1919			
	Gain		Loss		Gain		Loss	
	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.
City	95	73	35	27	87	62	53	38
Suburbs	20	77	6	23	24	73	9	7

For the twenty-one-year period approximately a quarter of the churches in city and suburbs have been losing membership and the percentage of those losing increased for both in the second decade, and for its last triennium.

The growth of Protestantism depends upon making gains over losses in the matter of local church membership, and the rate of growth depends upon the ratio between the gains and the losses. The combined average gains and losses of the nine major denominations accepted as representing the Protestant tendency, are shown in the following table for the entire period, 1899-1919, and for the triennium, 1917 and 1919, separately:

TABLE XLII — AVERAGE ANNUAL GAINS AND LOSSES OF THE MEMBERSHIP OF NINE PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONS IN THE CITY AND SUBURBS OF ST. LOUIS AND RATIO OF LOSSES TO GAINS.

	1899–1919			1917–1919		
	Annual Gains	Annual Losses	Ratio of Losses to Gains	Annual Gains	Annual Losses	Ratio of Losses to Gains
City	6,903	5,333	77%	6,728	5,774	86%
Suburbs	916	619	68%	1,028	915	89%
Total	7,819	5,952	76%	7,755	6,684	86%

It is a striking discovery that the ratio of losses to gains for the last reported triennial was considerably higher than for the twenty-one-year period as a whole. This may be attributed largely to the influence of the World War. It is an astounding fact, however, that for the entire twenty-one-year period seventy-six members, according to local church counting, were "lost" for every hundred members gained. In the city, at the worst period, the losses were as high as 92 per cent. of the gains.

Such of these losses as are caused by death are inevitable. Those caused by transfer to other churches constitute a turnover of Protestant membership. The transfer of members weakens the local church and compels it to make replacements before it can show any gains. While the transfer of those members who move out of the city constitutes a loss to St. Louis, it does not reduce the number

of church members of the nation. The local church is none the less under the necessity of finding five new members in order to maintain a net gain of one. The danger of running behind in the unending struggle to keep the gains above the losses is another of the high hazards of the city church.

The Future of Most Churches is Uncertain by Reason of Shifting Numbers and Character of Populations. While the churches forced to move in any decade constitute only a fraction of the total number of churches in the city, the great majority of the others face the same peril. The extent to which this affects the existence and the work of Protestantism has already been shown.[4] While the church exists to serve the people, and while institutional convenience or inconvenience and institutional removal or death are of little significance if the religious life of the city is strengthened thereby, still the resulting uncertainty weighs heavily upon the churches. It is inevitable that their policies become tentative and hesitant.

The dwindling of constituencies of stranded churches and the indecision, often continuing for years, before it can be determined whether and where to move, are part of the high hazard that the service of the city imposes.

Many St. Louis Churches are Poorly Located with Respect to Their Constituents. Churches move with great frequency but not fast enough to keep up with the removal of their people. During the years of uncertainty preceding a removal, a church is forced to operate over long lines of connection and to extend itself unduly in the attempt to serve its remote members. The attempt is never fully successful. Despite fatiguing efforts it results in diminished efficiency. Sometimes this condition continues indefinitely. The resulting distribution of members over the parish makes it an insufficient service-unit. In attempting to use it the church puts itself under a heavy handicap.

Many St. Louis Churches are Under Burdensome Overhead Cost. The expense of operation to the individual church member is frequently greatest where the quality of service is poorest. He pays far more for what he is getting than is paid by a member of a better church. This is a serious and sometimes ruinous discrimination. Its cause is the inefficiency of the local unit, which is too small for effective organization and operation. The overhead expense of such a church relative to the volume of business is extravagant. The majority of St. Louis churches are under this handicap, yet their cost cannot be reduced. Their pastors are already getting exceedingly low salaries. The church is frequently cheap; poorly lighted and poorly heated; there is no margin for financing an inter-

[4] Page 76.

esting program. In such churches the individual is paying more for the privilege of belonging than is paid by members in some of the best churches of St. Louis. The only remedy is to get new people to share the burden; but who would be willing to share it when the return for their expenditure is so meagre? The fortunes of such city churches are hazardous indeed.[5]

Many St. Louis Churches Have Relatively Declining Sunday Schools. The proof of this is general and denominational. The facts, of course, go back to the local church. From 1899 to 1901, for the nine major denominations, there were eighty pupils to every hundred church members. From 1917 to 1919 there were but seventy-two. Six denominations are known to share in this relative decline of the Sunday school both in the city and in the suburbs. Even some of the churches which are growing are not growing normally in such circumstances. Yet failure to grow as fast with youth and childhood as with adults clearly imperils the future.

The St. Louis Churches as a Group are not Adequately Holding the Constituencies They Already Have. The relative decline of the Sunday school might be a result of failure either to get children or to hold youths. It is almost entirely the latter. St. Louis Sunday schools have virtually 100 per cent. of their acknowledged constituents between the ages of six and twelve. Between the ages of twelve and twenty-four, on the other hand, only half the acknowledged Protestant adherents are in Sunday school. Some of them have gone into the Church when they fell out of the Sunday school so that more than two-thirds appear to be in one or the other or in both. But nearly one-third are in neither. These are lapsed constituents, the leakage from organized churches in St. Louis. Their break with the Church, apart from the loss to them as individuals, is a sign of the Church's institutional instabilities. It indicates an unwholesome condition which makes the future of many churches problematical.

It is some comfort to realize that the majority of these misfortunes and difficulties—or their equivalents—beset other institutions of the city. Business, commercialized recreation and institutions of philanthropy and humane service, all find a high hazard in the uncertainties and fluctuations of urban conditions. No place stays as it is; no people stay where they are. Institutions that survive have come "out of great tribulation." Extraordinary wisdom, ability and character are the only insurance against failure.

[5] In such cases part of the extravagant cost is paid not by the individual member but by missionary subsidies. This merely shifts the burden to those already supporting churches of their own. In no sense does it make the situation more reasonable or easier for the church at large.

Hopeful Aspects and Stabilizing Tendencies

These risks may be minimized at many points by the use of resources now available to the city church. Some of its unfortunate tendencies are already yielding, in part to deliberate efforts to remedy them.

The use of the survey method itself provides a means of preventing the unwise establishment of future churches. Such a use is measurably assured to the white churches through the coöperation of most of the denominations in the Commission on Church Extension of the Church Federation. A more consistent and careful comparison of tendencies in individual churches to grow or to decline might result in early decisive policies with respect to those in danger. Churches showing symptoms of failure would have early treatment. A time limit might be set for them, as suggested by the parable of the fruitless fig tree; and at its expiration they might be discontinued, or moved, or their programs radically changed. There is no need to keep alive so many ailing churches.

The best insurance against excessive losses would be provided by the persistent following up of members. Next to that in importance would be some systematic method of facilitating transfers. This would seem to increase rather than to diminish losses. It would indeed speed the parting member when his relationships have ceased to be vital; but it would direct him into another church. This would make it easier for churches to get new members to repair their losses.

The whole tendency of city populations to move arbitrarily is in part overcome by the new principles of logical urban development reflected in zoning laws. Change will be less sudden and planning for the future possible.

This in turn will react upon the location of members with respect to their churches. Parishes will not become so lopsided and service so inconvenient as at present.

The average St. Louis church is 25 per cent. larger than it was two decades ago. This tendency is working toward the removal of the handicap of undue overhead charges. If it is backed up by denominational policy, the churches as a body may soon work out of their disability in this respect. There is no excuse for starting churches too small. Enough people and sufficient resources should be mustered to assure a good working unit with a chance of rapid early growth; or else organization should be deferred.

There is as yet no demonstrable remedy for the relative decline of the Sunday school and the failure of the church to hold its own youth. This is part of the general problem of civilization in which

the church is not now faring any worse than is public education. A more adequate way of conceiving religious education, as a phase of the whole life of the church with the Sunday school regarded as only one aspect of it, and the actual early extension of schemes of week-day Christian education, ought to bring into the situation an influence to inspire hope.

General Problems and Ultimate Objectives

All these risks to institutional life or limb are trivial compared with the church's risk of failing in its ultimate objective. The church does not expect to be ministered unto nor to have its path made easy. In St. Louis it exists to serve the city and through it a wider world.

The general problems of organized Protestantism have constituted the themes of successive chapters. They may properly be summarized here.

THE UNCHURCHED AND THE HALF-CHURCHED

An analysis of the religious situation in St. Louis revealed 196,000 people, or about one-fourth of its population, as unchurched. Some of these have a historic affinity for the Roman Catholic; others for Protestantism. According to these religious antecedents responsibility is somewhat evenly divided between the greater communions. The unchurched are essentially a common responsibility and problem, half of which may rightly be assigned to Protestantism. They constitute the church's field of evangelization and expanding fellowship. That many of them are already not uninfluenced is a hopeful side of the problem.

The Accidental Churches

Churches of to-day have rather been cast up by the tides of history than organized and aligned with reference to present-day service. They are a collection rather than a rationally designed group of agencies. Many of them are not practically available for the populations that at present surround them. Different versions of religious faith and experience, different psychologies and different social relationships stand between them and service. Never in the history of St. Louis have old religious institutions been really acceptable to new populations. New people have always meant new churches and the working relations of the old and the new have not been well adjusted. A still higher death rate of churches which are survivals rather than servants in the present situation, is the most urgent need in this field.

Thirty-eight thousand adults who attend Protestant churches but do not belong, and 33,000 who prefer some church but neither attend nor belong, constitute the half-churched population which remains to be won to full allegiance. Finally, there are the 25,000 Protestant children of all ages now out of the Sunday school, many of whom ought already to be in it. This completes the list of sources on which Protestant churches may draw for enlargement and of individuals to whom they are debtors for Christian fellowship and guidance.

BREVITY AND REMOTENESS OF INFLUENCE

The mobility and transience both of populations and of institutions have been repeatedly considered in their bearing upon church fortunes. They are most harmful in that they break the power of friendship and example and make continuous religious culture and discipline impossible. Religious training which lasts long enough to reach an epoch-making climax with any individual is increasingly rare. It is in the continuous need of the soul for God, rather than in the steady ministries of the church, that hope lies at present.

INEQUALITY OF SERVICE

The institutions of religion are not well distributed. Large areas of the city are getting very much poorer service at the hands of the Protestant church than others are. This discrimination works injury to the church's reputation and defeats its end as a bearer of fellowship to all sorts and conditions of men, as agency of opportunity to lowly as well as to exalted.

NARROW RANGE OF CHURCHES

While the variety of types which have appeared in St. Louis is considerable, the actual distribution of churches among the types is very limited. Most of the St. Louis churches are traditional and unoriginal. There is a poor adaptation of institutional means to the religious and social ends which ought to be served in so great a city. The church is not nearly so varied and interesting as the city is. That the wild and unstandardized religions are forcing adventurous types of church life into the city and that unauthorized individuals are making experiments is more hopeful than anything that the recognized agencies of control are doing so far.

INDEFINITE GEOGRAPHICAL UNITS OF SERVICE

The unscientific and impractical character of the existing parish or service areas has had repeated notice. From the standpoint of

ultimate objectives their failure is chiefly that they do not connect with or utilize the spirit of the neighborhood. They do not commonly unite the people who live near one another in habitual service to common ends. The neighborhood idea has its most definite expression outside the church; at the same time it is outstandingly indicative of the social conscience and is being most definitely fostered by social agencies other than the church.

INEFFECTIVE RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

The aspect of religious education of which the church is conscious and which it traditionally stresses is a section of religious education rather than a system. The St. Louis Sunday school is a faithful but somewhat commonplace and traditional institution which singularly fails to hold either the young or the mature. It is doubtful if it is as good as the young people it is trying to guide. The most hopeful aspect of the situation is that youth has its own conscience and ideals and is following them. This frequently leads the young back into the church though not by direct promotion from the Sunday school.

THE DENOMINATIONS

In many respects the most hopeful chapter of the study is that of denominational progress, educability and adaptability. The denominations are growing, learning and changing. Studied over a period of years they show great capacity for modification in the direction of better service. Yet their conservatism and rivalry, the lack of adequate coöperation and of willingness to learn partly explain the hardships and failures to which the local church is subjected, as well as the larger failure of Protestantism in its ultimate objectives.

TRADITIONAL AND UNSTANDARDIZED PHILANTHROPY

While the provision of Protestantism for the care and shelter of the unfortunate impresses one as large and elaborate, its direction is not well balanced nor is its quality beyond criticism. In the large it is remedial rather than preventative, and institutional rather than personal. The ending of misery and sorrow is not well served by the means it has adapted.

LOSSES UNACCOUNTED FOR

The excessive membership turnover of the Protestant churches is distressing, but the ultimately serious aspect of it is a leakage of about 40 per cent. of people who drop out of all church connection.

So far as the church's knowledge goes, they are "sunk without trace." It is the sad discovery of long experience that many removals of membership are thus absolute losses to church relationships. Even those who have been very active in one parish not infrequently abandon church life when faced under other conditions with the problem of connecting themselves with another parish. Christianity, as it expresses itself concretely, is a particular set of fellowships, and does not immediately translate itself into fellowship elsewhere. Such lost members may be reclaimed sooner or later, but at least the continuity of their service is broken. The church has largely failed to make Christian character proof against

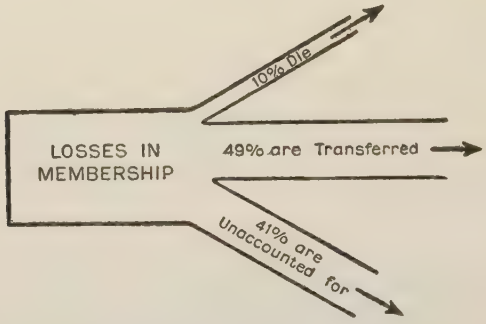


CHART 52

Percentages based on official figures of the Baptist, Congregational and Protestant Episcopal denominations 1899-1919.

urban change. It is unable to carry over the values of Christian fellowship with the goings and comings of multitudes of such people.

These are the outstanding limitations on Protestant institutional success as revealed in the successive phases of the Survey.

On the showing above summarized Protestantism cannot be counted a 100 per cent. success. In general, its development has been without common guidance. It has lacked the means of measuring or of securing efficiency. This is a high price to pay for the Protestant principle of religious freedom. One might well continue to pay it in the future if it were necessary; but it is not necessary. So much in the past has been good, so much is vast and commanding as to challenge the future to do very much better. Can any one question that the way to better things is through larger coöperation based upon more exact knowledge and through the increasing provision of means for executing common plans?

Solutions and Alternatives

The most dependable hope for the future lies in the growing unity of Protestantism. There is a distinct Protestant tendency of mind and spirit based upon a common psychology. This distinguishes the loyal Protestant body from the Catholic communion. This common tendency is capable of including many inner differences. The outstanding demonstration of Protestant unity is in the fact that members frequently go back and forth in great numbers between the chief Protestant bodies. All of these bodies have numerous admixtures, a majority of present members of some churches having been reared in other Protestant communions.

A second ground of real confidence is the proved spirit and temper of St. Louis herself.

A CONSERVATIVE CITY

As its dominant atmosphere and spirit St. Louis doubtless deserves the reputation of being conservative. It has not often contributed notably toward solving the major problems of civilization nor produced the great examples which the nation follows.

Something like checkmate between the influences of North and South; something in the sobriety and unadventurous disposition of the large underlying German-American population, some sense in later years of diminished economic possibilities, have wrought this temper in the city; and no outstanding and dynamic personalities have risen to break it down through years of continuous leadership.

That St. Louis recognizes the characteristic is clear from the following: "One of the most substantial cities of the country. The absence of undue civic bombast is, I believe, as much of a blessing as a curse." The contrasting verdict is: "St. Louis' greatest weaknesses are ultra-conservatism and the lack of outstanding leaders." [6]

A SENSITIVE CITY

It requires no prying psychoanalysis to discover that some of the city's old wounds are open beneath the surface. Observers quickly note the presence of the Kansas City complex, a very clear and ever-present element in the city's mental outlook. "St. Louis is sound and conservative, not pyrotechnic like Kansas City, but gets there in the end." St. Louis people understand this characteristic of theirs very well and use it skillfully. The argument that Kansas City has done or might be about to do something is always the

6 This and other quotations in this section are from a symposium on the religious duty and prospects of St. Louis in *The Church at Work*, v. 10, page 11.

clinching argument for it, from Bible schools to bond issues. The healthy rivalry of cities may be counted on to stimulate action whenever the way is clearly shown.

NOT ALWAYS A UNITED CITY

The observer sometimes notes in her an unexpected inertia and wonders how cities more heterogeneous in population seem better able to fuse their elements in common efforts. Speaking the truth as they see it in love, representative St. Louis citizens in the mood of confession often point this out as St. Louis' failure. "The greatest weakness is want of unity, but unity is being brought about." "The greatest weakness is the divisions of her population."

The more outspoken of these loving critics do not hesitate to charge their city with "selfish contentment and pooled self-esteem." The past has undoubtedly justified some of these criticisms. Over against them must be set the fact of growing coöperation as the promise of the future.

THE LEADERSHIP OF THE SOUTHWEST

The unusual prestige of St. Louis in its vast tributary territory and its exceptionally good relations with it are generally conceded. Its ascendancy is of long standing. In the greater part of its tributary territory it has no large city rival. Roger Babson rates the purchasing power of the St. Louis' trade area as from five to seven hundred million dollars monthly. Small wonder that the influence of such a center should impress the morally sensitive minds.

The justification for this deep conviction of providential leadership is found in the manifold actual relationships of the religious forces of St. Louis to a very large area of the nation. The churches of the city have enormous prestige. St. Louis is the official headquarters of a large number of denominations, the district headquarters of others and the center of educational life through institutions and a religious press for several millions of American Christians.

The leaders of all these movements find their religious homes in the St. Louis churches. What they have to give out in their teaching and activities is ordinarily what they find in their fellowships there. Through them the characteristics and atmosphere of the Protestantism of the city are mediated to the whole Southwest. It is impossible that the spiritual tone and in large measure the religious methods of the city should not be widely influential. An imperial region of America looks up to her for its religious standards. This is what lies behind the words of her best leaders when

they affirm: "St. Louis should never play second place in any movement, social, economic, commercial or religious, in this great Southwest. St. Louis must lead."

"As the place where east, west, south and north meet, she should be a leader in social adjustments, civic and moral leadership."

"As goes this city, so eventually will go the Southwest."

Among denominational institutions having headquarters in St. Louis are the following: *Disciples of Christ*—United Christian Missionary Society; Christian Board of Publication; "Christian Evangelist," a national organ. *Evangelical*—Headquarters of the President-general, Evangelical Synod of North America; "Evangelical Herald," and denominational publishing house; Eden Theological Seminary. *Lutheran (Missouri Synod)*—National Headquarters; "Lutheran Witness," "Der Lutheraner"; Concordia Theological Seminary. *Methodist Episcopal*—Headquarters Areal Bishop. *Methodist Episcopal, South*—St. Louis "Christian Advocate." *Presbyterian*—Headquarters of Southwestern District, Board of Home Missions. *United Presbyterian*—Xenia Theological Seminary.

Besides these there are several denominational schools within or immediately dependent upon the metropolitan area.

THE CHURCH AND ST. LOUIS HERSELF

When the leaders of St. Louis begin to speak intimately of the relationship of the church to their own city they display the two characteristic attitudes of the religious mind—that of the prophet on the watch tower and that of yearning motherhood. The one impels to "cry aloud and spare not"; the other to gather the city's children together "as a hen gathers her brood under her wing."

The urgency of the challenge to the churches rings out in the following utterances: "Before the churches can aid the city they must clean their own houses; in other words, the churches must pull the beam out of their own eyes and then they must be able to see the splinter in the civic eye. Too many churches are ready to thank God that others are doing no better than themselves and take comfort in it and too many do not relate the prosperity of others to their own prosperity as a factor in it."

Or again: "The greatest weakness of the St. Louis church, as I see it, is its failure to mold into its life the people who come here from the church life of other communities. There are hundreds of unreached people in our city who have formerly been in the church in smaller places."

In contrast, a genuine vein of prophetic tenderness and imagination is exposed in the following:

"Ideally, the city should be an awakened center, a place in which happy men and women and children enjoy life, liberty, health and beauty. It should stimulate and assist smaller places to emulate it."

LARGE PRACTICAL BEGINNINGS

Evidences of the manifold phases of actual coöperation between the Protestant bodies have cropped out at many points in the Survey. They constitute the point of departure for further coöperative development. No radically new attitude is necessary but only a larger and profound conviction held by many more people and expressing itself more frequently in action. For in spite of the lively spirit of unity, coöperative deeds have come in a mere trickle compared with the great river of demand which flows from the needs of a great city.

The fellowship of denominational executives representing church conferences and city missionary organizations and committees is a splendid reality. Themselves a noble and friendly body of men, these executives are in the habit of meeting and taking council together both informally and within the comity machinery of the Church Federation. A greater frequency of meeting, with the same systematic dependence upon this important body of men as a working board of Protestant strategy is one of the first objectives of the enlarged Protestant movement. It is to this group that the execution of immediate Protestant projects must look.

While these executives are dealing with the going program of the churches from day to day the longer view and the more fundamental consideration of principles lie with the Church Federation through its Commission on Comity. This Commission has done excellent work in influencing piece-meal decisions and has the nominal function of initiating measures. The real exercise of this function and the development by the Commission of plans running well in advance of decisions are the next steps. In order to reach such plans it must needs have a continuous survey process. This involves the creation of an adequate permanent survey department.

BASIC PRINCIPLES EXPRESSING THE LOGIC OF PRESENT TENDENCIES

1. Without any attempt to settle principles of coöperative action for all time, a working basis of federated planning but denominational execution should be agreed upon for the present. Venturing a concrete formula—perhaps three-fourths of all projects should be denominational, all of which, however, should be related to a Protestant whole.

2. There should be an immediate program of action on matters which the Survey makes clear and which can secure early common

consent. It would appear, that, beyond the general accepted policy for the family church, there are certain clear cases calling for adaptation and redirection of individual church policies; and that a select number of these chosen from the larger list of recommendations might find early acceptance and have prompt attention. This call for unusual promptness of action on matters which are clear has, as its other side, the necessary realization that programizing for the numerous and complicated situations of churches in a great city cannot be accomplished all at once in view of a single survey. What is needed is a continuous process built up gradually and achieving cumulative wisdom and authority.

3. Certain new unit projects should be undertaken as pioneering experiments under single Protestant direction. By a unit project is meant one which stands as much as possible on its own feet and does not involve a multitude of collateral issues. An excellent example is the downtown theater preaching of the present season.

4. Finally, upon the structural ground-work of fact and agreement resulting from the Survey, there should be worked out a series of fundamental interrelated projects directed toward the realization of large objectives. To have made this possible is the greatest contribution of the Survey to St. Louis. A fairly definite five-year program, with a more shadowy ten year and twenty-five year one in the background, and with a logical organization of its several parts into practical series of objectives touching fundamental issues; this is the least that should result by way of centralized coöperation. On the other hand, it is the most that any single survey ought to pretend to make possible.

THE ISSUE AND ITS ALTERNATIVE

The above suggestions are made modestly as interpreting actual beginnings and their obvious lines of logical development. While entirely plastic as to detail, the issue which they imply is imperative. Either the churches and denominations in St. Louis will go on functioning in virtual ignorance of the basis of scientific churchmanship with experimental and stumbling programs resulting in frequent and probably increasing failures, or there must be the exceptional development of coöperation and coöperative control which the situation demands. Neither single churches nor denominations alone can meet the challenging changes of the city, nor stand the financial pressure involved: first, in maintaining properly adapted churches in handicapped neighborhoods, and then in meeting emergency strain in periods of transition. Local churches without adequate guidance and backing will continue to follow the lines of least resistance, finding their clews in individual advantage and systemati-

cally running away from the major problems of the city. Between 1899 and 1919 the twelve largest denominations of St. Louis had organized sixty-seven new churches, dropped fifty-seven old ones and moved thirty-eight. This totals one hundred fifty-six cases vitally effected by population movements within little more than two decades. The average number of churches for this period was about two hundred. Three-fourths of the total number, therefore, faced at some time the ultimate institutional crises of birth, death or removal of location. All this shows how terribly transient and unsubstantial a thing the Protestant church is under present conditions.

The final conclusion of the Survey is that St. Louis churches as a body are keeping just a little ahead of the forces of dissolution and failure. The question of the future is frankly that of hanging together or hanging separately. Chaos, which the mind a little while ago refused to regard seriously, is now recognized as quite possible. It exists in much of the world to-day. Failure of empires or æons is understood to be a commonplace of the universe. Institutionalized religion in a great city might become a wandering star plunging into the darkness. It is entirely possible that the whole colossal fabric of the St. Louis church may be worth less than its carrying charges to-morrow.

While the Survey presents this outcome of its findings with a deadly seriousness, it ends with no council of despair.

> A shipwrecked sailor buried on this coast
> Bids thee set sail.
> Full many a gallant bark when we were lost
> Weathered the gale.

Not all the ecclesiastical dead have died in vain. The whole story which the Survey unfolds is a challenge to patient courage and scientifically grounded faith.

Small as it is, even the measure of new knowledge supplied by the Survey may be sufficient, if acted upon, to turn the scales toward decisive success. It furnishes a new margin of opportunity within which the same people constituting the same churches as at present can do better work with the same resources. It indicates the next step.

Only by a succession of such vigorous steps is there any assurance that the second million of St. Louis people will be better served than the first million, or that the church and city of to-morrow will be more worthy of their nation and their God than are those of to-day.

PART II

LOCAL REPORTS AND FINDINGS

It is assumed that the general reader who does not live in St. Louis will be content to regard the presentation of the Survey as essentially completed with Part I.

Part II is added primarily for its local interest and uses.

PART II: LOCAL REPORTS AND FINDINGS

Chapter XII

TYPICAL SURVEY DISTRICTS

The following concrete descriptions of typical districts aim to give a relatively complete geographical cross-section of St. Louis, socially and religiously.[1]

GOOD ALL AROUND

District XVI—Arlington—is a West End American district. It is one of the three best districts to live in, lying in the center of the area generally regarded as the most desirable.[2] It ranks highest in religious advantage. It may further be characterized as representing middle-class social conditions in the best part of St. Louis.

Population is strongly American (91.6 per cent.) and is rapidly growing and changing,—this in spite of the fact that the area is relatively stabilized. Towards the western boundaries of the city population tends to abandon separate pathways by which it has moved away from the center and to become diffused rather than stratified. This marks the increasing Americanization of the various elements. This is exactly what has happened in District XVI. The Hebrew and German elements are more mingled with the American than in older parts of the city. The Negro population is negligible.

An important new civic and business center, Wellston, is located on the northern edge of the district, astride of the city line. This leaves the entire northern border unprotected from industrial invasion, though the district itself is distinctly residential.

District XVI has thirteen Protestant and four Roman Catholic churches beside one Hebrew synagogue. The Methodist, Presbyterian and Baptist denominations have the most adherents.

It has only an average number of Protestants and, as in most of the newer sections of the city, it has an excess of Protestant ad-

1 For earlier discussions of the Survey Districts in the text, see pages 48 and 82.
2 This area reaches over into the suburbs.

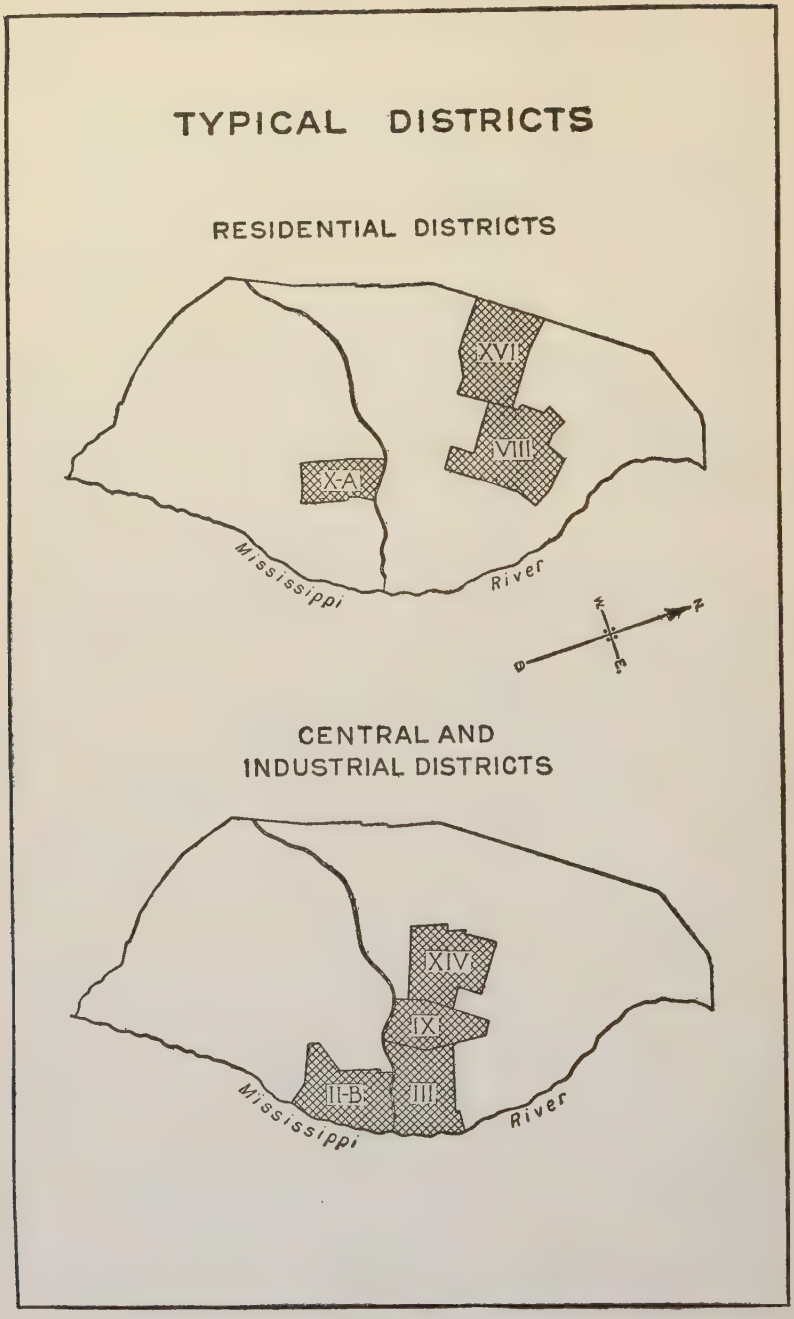

TYPICAL DISTRICTS
RESIDENTIAL DISTRICTS
XVI
VIII
X-A
Mississippi
River
N
W
E
S
CENTRAL AND
INDUSTRIAL DISTRICTS
XIV
IX
II-B
III
Mississippi
River

CHART 53

herents who merely prefer some church and are not members. On the whole, however, it has few entirely unchurched people and is especially successful in its Sunday school, having 70.7 per cent. of its young Protestant constituency enrolled as against 57 per cent. for the city as a whole. It also has an unusually large proportion of young people both in church and Sunday school.

Besides being the best district religiously, it has first rank on seven out of the eleven social criteria and must be pronounced "Good All Around." When this verdict reached a leading pastor of the district, he exclaimed, "If this is the best district, God help the rest of the city." In the three items, illiteracy, infant mortality and tuberculosis mortality, the district is slightly below its general rank and there is twice as much juvenile delinquency as in the adjoining district. All of these deficiencies probably relate to the infiltration of foreign population. The excess of juvenile delinquency is definitely traceable to Hebrew and Roman Catholic sources adjoining and probably due to the demoralization around the Wellston center.

Having still room to grow, the future character of the district is problematical. It illustrates the fact that even in the most desirable and most largely American sections of a great city, there is no unchallenged advantage. All populations are mixed and diluted, and infection permeates the best areas. No part of a modern city is or can be free from such conditions and none can be guaranteed to stay good except by the strongest civic and moral guardianship. The Arlington District, in these respects, tells the story of all the better residential areas, especially of the North Side. While the best is none too good, the North Side districts of this quality tend to be good both socially and religiously.

FAITH MODESTLY EXCELLING FORTUNES

District VIII—Fairgrounds—is a residential North Side German-American district. It is slightly below average socially but ranks fourth in religious standing.

The German sector of the North Side lies to the north of the American sector and the main highway of the newer foreigners. The Fairgrounds District occupies the center of this sector. It shows German-American society in St. Louis transformed and almost Americanized by migration west of Grand Avenue. It is relatively homogeneous and middle-class. The district makes fewer social pretensions than some of the old South Side German neighborhoods. Being on the North Side, it is more in the current of general civic progress and relatively more alert and progressive. Few

people are indifferent to the church and most of the Protestant adherents either belong to or at least attend it. There is a high proportion of young people in Sunday school and more than the average both in church and Sunday school. In this district the dominant Evangelical and Lutheran churches have discovered how to hold their young people by adopting more nearly the methods of the older American churches. These two denominations claim 57 per cent. of the Protestants of the district.

The district has grown faster than most of the city during the last decade. It has scattered industries but is protected from further industrial invasion. There are fewer sections which are not built up than in the Arlington District. The old Fairgrounds, now the largest and best of the North Side parks, occupies the heart of the district. It includes also the St. Louis baseball park, and the North Side Y. M. C. A.—the largest and best equipped in the city—immediately adjoins it. The district ranks high in home ownership, 7.5 per cent. of the people owning their homes. This indicates the thrift of the German-American. While the district ranks only twelfth in social standing, this is probably largely because of the Negro population on its southern edge, which should more properly be grouped elsewhere. The Fairgrounds District is typical of that belt of residential St. Louis which lies between the downtown and West End districts. It is modestly middle-class—much poorer than the West End but not as a whole under any acute social handicap. The success of its churches shows how well Protestantism can succeed with an alert and intelligent population of strong religious antecedents on this level.

WHERE FAITH IS BELOW FORTUNES

District XA—Compton—is on the edge of the South Side German sector. It ranks socially at virtually the same level with its companion north-side District VIII which has just been studied. But its religious status shows flagrant contrast—being the lowest in the city.

The district lies just east of Grand Avenue, surrounding Compton Hill Reservoir, and contains some of the highly restricted and exclusive residential blocks in the city. It is one of the older and more aristocratic German neighborhoods. At present, however, 79.3 per cent. of the population is native born. The household canvass showed that 24 per cent. of the people in this district are nominally Lutheran, 16 per cent. Methodist and 13 per cent. Baptist. Of the eight churches in this district, three are Lutheran and two are Evangelical.

There is proportionately little home ownership, considering its character as a residence neighborhood; but there is also surprisingly little juvenile delinquency. Religiously, as has been said, Compton ranks lowest of the districts surveyed; more people declared themselves indifferent to the church than in any other district. A relatively small proportion are either members of a church or attend church, and no district has so little success with its Sunday schools.

A variety of conditions help to explain this anomaly. First, the Compton District includes radically different kinds of population. While the section around Compton Hill Reservoir is highly restricted most of the area is middle-class. But Negroes and rural migrants have pushed up along the northern border on the slopes of the Mill Creek Valley. Because of these radical diversities, the district ranks low socially, falling between a B and a C grade. It has also been found hard to associate the different grades of population in the same churches.

Second, this section has an irreligious tradition. St. Louis for a brief period during the early German and Czech immigration was one of the noted centers of free thought of the United States. Traces of this tradition are recognized as clinging especially to this part of the South Side. It has the reputation of being unfruitful soil for churches.

POPULATION ELEMENTS OUT OF STEP

Some churches, again, are less progressive than others. In the main this means that they are younger in the city, less American and less urbanized. The younger elements in these churches progress faster than the main body of the church itself and become dissatisfied with the religious ways and institutions of their fathers. The result is that in large measure they desert the church.

In St. Louis this desertion takes the form on the South Side of not going to church at all—as in the Compton District—and on the North Side of attending church but not joining.

At the same time those young people who have broken from the old ways have not come along as fast as the older and more progressive elements in the community. They are not psychologically in step with the most progressive churches. Consequently there is no church which exactly serves them. They are out of the church largely because they are unserved.

The American-born people of foreign or mixed parentage furnish the most outstanding example of this principle. Because of the preponderant German element of the older migration, it is now most largely a German-American phenomenon. The characteristic

churches of this population, the Evangelical and Lutheran, under these conditions, have "fallen down." The religious short-comings of the district as objectively measured by the Survey must be chiefly laid at their denominational doors since as above shown they have the preponderance of church organizations and adherents.

DENOMINATIONAL CONSTITUENCIES LACK CHURCHES

Forty-seven per cent. of all religious adherents in the Compton District, however, find no church of their choice in the immediate neighborhood. The District is 16 per cent. Methodist and 13 per cent. Baptist, yet neither denomination has a church in it. This doubtless helps to explain its low religious standing. While these denominations have good churches to the south and to the north of the District, they are farther away than the average member in St. Louis goes to church. Shall these denominations, therefore, push into the district? The advice of the Survey is, "In God's name, don't." The present churches are not getting their own adherents; but neither are the Baptist and Methodist churches in adjoining districts getting their adherents living almost next door. There is no evidence that they would get them in the Compton District merely by being nearer. There is no evidence that more churches would help the situation. Whatever loyalty there is to the Baptist or Methodist name should be used to hold the churches already in the district. This might be accomplished by a united Protestant approach to the unchurched, in which old ties should be drawn upon and then if necessary transferred. While, therefore, merely additional churches would hinder more than help now, the absence of churches with denominational affinity for the neighborhood has doubtless been a handicap to religious success through the years.

A final cause of the religious depression of the district is the presence of large numbers of rural migrants—Protestants—whom the older churches find it hard to assimilate. Their fortunes will be discussed in another connection. All told, in no other district do so many handicaps to religious success coincide. This fact, apparently, pulls it to the bottom of the list in spite of its relatively high social fortunes.

FAITH BETTER THAN FORTUNES

District II B—Soulard—is the old and conservative foreign section across the Mill Creek Valley from and to the south of the Downtown District.

Next to the lowest in social quality, this district is in the highest

class in the percentage of its total religious adherents and is above average in general religious standing. It includes the original area of South Side German and Slavic settlement and is still one-fifth foreign-born and more than one-half of foreign antecedents.

It includes the brewery districts and is more than one-third occupied by the area of railroads and heavy industry bordering the river. Limited areas are reserved for future residential use but they have already been interpenetrated everywhere by light industries—such as shoe factories.

The district has seventeen Protestant churches of eight denominations, mostly small in membership, but including some very large Lutheran and Evangelical churches, and twelve Roman Catholic churches. The Baptist and Presbyterian denominations come after the Evangelical and Lutheran in strength.

Among the handicaps of the district are a considerable and neglected Negro fringe at its northern border, very poorly served religiously; a very small degree of home ownership; excessive poverty, illiteracy, and tuberculosis mortality; and very great excess of infant mortality and juvenile delinquency. These are the natural results of the crowding of immigrant populations in old dwellings in an industrial environment. Even so, the Slavic element, which chiefly suffers from these hardships, seems to show a slight superiority over the Southern Europeans, Jews and Negroes living under similar conditions in other parts of the city. The district is a most perfect mirror of the fortunes of foreigners whose successive immigrant waves have been of related nationalities. Under these circumstances, the foreigner has never been so demoralized as where population has been more varied and intermingled. Even now he is less demoralized than the American population living alongside of him in this district.

Over much of the area of the district, however, hangs an atmosphere of contentment and peace. Here, on the original South Side, "one realized that St. Louis is an old city and that it is curiously an European city. The doors do not have steps or porches; one enters immediately into the house by a door and the walls of the house come straight down against the sidewalk so that one can walk along the street and look into all the living-room windows. All the houses are little two-story affairs, mostly of brick, each trim and cornered and there are scraggly thin trees along the street. When the blue haze of sunshine lies over the little houses and children romp through them on their way to school, it is a very old world city, in its ordered serenity."

The district's high religious standing—sixth, in spite of its very low social grade—is probably due, first, to the conservatism of a

population of foreign antecedents in its original location. This has made it possible for the churches of German-speaking origin to hold and conserve their constituencies, while the same churches have frequently lost grip on them as they have scattered over the city. It is doubtless due also to the large number and aggressive work of the community-serving churches of the characteristically American denominations and particularly to the good team play which they have exhibited in this part of the city.[3]

In this atmosphere, the grip of religion is strong both in its conservative and in its newer social phases. It holds the faith of the district well above its fortunes.

FAITH AND FORTUNES ALIKE POOR

Through District XIV—Central—the higher and lower social strata of distinctly American population of St. Louis follow parallel paths in their westward movement, while its margins are held by Negroes and foreigners. It represents those parts of the city which are just now undergoing the most acute change.

Along the great boulevards, Lindell and Washington—with Olive Street as the chief transportation route—lay the best development of the city previous to the St. Louis Exposition. North of Delmar Avenue, however, came a zone of cheaper development with people on the lower economic level. This in turn was bounded by a line of Hebrew westward expansion.

Into this cheaper area came many small industries planlessly located and from an early date certain Negro elements.

The cheapening of property values by industry before the zoning ordinance made way for a great Negro invasion of its northern portions in the last decade. This made District XIV the center of the fierce racial struggle that resulted in an overwhelming popular vote for the Segregation Ordinance, later overthrown by the Supreme Court.

The total result of this movement of population is a district sharply divided between a population of the higher economic quality, still holding the great boulevards, and a low class economic population, chiefly represented by Jews and Negroes to the north. Immediately near Grand Avenue, very undesirable elements have overflowed from District IX. District XIV now has the third largest Negro population in the city.

There are ten Protestant churches, of eight denominations, the Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian and Protestant Episcopal having

[3] Page 89.

the most adherents, and six Roman Catholic churches. The presence of the great Cathedral with its subsidiary institutions makes the district a natural Roman Catholic center.

The district has a heavy excess of people calling themselves Protestants, but out of working contact with the church. It has only a small part of its young constituency in Sunday school and a large group is in neither church nor Sunday school. In this respect there are only two districts worse off. Such church life as it has is balanced and conservative, reflecting the somewhat exclusive interest of the churches in the more successful elements of the population. The study of church migration has shown the confused movement of Protestant churches in and out of the district; yet this amazing change has resulted in little social adaptation of the churches to the peculiar conditions of the district.[4] Those which remain are greatly oppressed by the transiency of population and subject to great temptation to move again rather than face the difficulties.

The large Negro population of the district contributes somewhat to its excess of mortality from tuberculosis. Juvenile delinquency, however, is only typical and the district is above the general level of the city in infant mortality and poverty. This reflects the fact that its Negroes are of the higher class, who themselves have joined the white majority in a western movement, leaving the district below Grand Avenue to the new Negro immigration. In most respects they do not pull down the general level of the district.

All told, the district reflects the divergent fortunes of very different population elements caught in a parallel movement. The boundaries of the two elements are fluctuating and overlapping. The policy of religious institutions faced with such uncertainties are largely tentative and rarely courageous.

The rise of the second great downtown center at the eastern edge of the district creates special conditions in that immediate vicinity. This, the Grand Avenue section, is already the recreational and educational focus of the city. Here great city-wide churches are developing and new types of ministries are made possible. But this development only accentuates the perplexity and change of the district as a whole.

BAD ALL AROUND

District IX—East Central—lies below Grand Avenue, between District XIV and the downtown section. It occupies next to the

4 Page 72. The Union Methodist Episcopal Church immediately adjoining the Grand Avenue business section is a striking exception to the above generalization.

lowest rank both socially and religiously. The district shows an area, in which were born, reared and married many of the most successful native Americans of St. Louis, but which is now completely overrun by industry and undesirable populations. It is the most conspicuous of the "blighted areas." Here live people to an estimated number of 60,000. In spite of the increase of industry, population has gained but slightly during the last decade. The divisions of population as they originated in the old part of the city along the river have projected themselves across District IX on their way westward. They now exhibit a series of seven parallel sectors. Beginning with the southern border of the district, there are (1) Negroes, (2) automobile row, (3) Negroes, (4) rural migrants, (5) Russian Jews, (6) Irish Catholics, (7) German-Americans. The northern end of the district reaches into the great North Side German sector. Such juxtaposition of distinct population paths could only be found in a rapidly changing American city.

The district has a smaller proportion of native-born white population than any other and more Negroes than any other (31 per cent.); beside 14 per cent. foreign-born population.

The leading Negro churches are in this district. Many of them have city-wide parishes. Only seventeen of the thirty-four, however, own their church buildings. The others rent "store fronts." This indicates the recently arrived migrant class in contrast with the older Negro population which has moved west to Grand Avenue. The white rural migrants are around the Crow elementary school, one-half of the children of which were born outside of St. Louis. Twelve similar districts exist in the city. They are virtually continuous, bordering the Mississippi River and following the Mill Creek Valley, which are the main areas of industry and transportation. This means that the rural white population, which accounts for practically all the net growth of St. Louis above her own natural increase during the last decade, has largely fallen into the least desirable areas in the city. Such is the lack of imagination and range of effective choice in the choice of a place of residence, that immigrants from Illinois actually tend to settle in sight of that state, while Missouri families locate within a few blocks of the railroad by which they entered the city!

It is characteristic in areas in which rural migrants are frequent that cruder types of religions are largely substituted for the older and more regular denominations. Thus seven churches of Spiritualists, Latter Day Saints and the Pentecostal sects are concentrated on Grand and Easton Avenues in District IX. This confirmed the universal testimony of religious workers that it is hard to get rural newcomers into existing churches.

The Jews of District IX, constituting the largest proportion of the foreign-born of the district, form a solid community. Four of their largest synagogues are located here.

Of districts fully surveyed, District IX stands next to the worst. Its people are indifferent to the church and eyen where they express some adherence fail to attend church unless they are actually members. This means that the church has little outreach; and this is substantiated by the very poor standing of Sunday school enrollment. The deeper meaning is that the rural migrants, who bring a strong religious tradition, are only partially served in their transient gospel halls and little sectarian churches. These give emotional experience but little continuous culture in religion. They are no real equivalent for the regular churches in the steadiness and quality of their religious ministers.

Of denominations affiliated in the Church Federation, only four out of the seven churches of the district are gaining in membership. Two of these are churches of German-speaking origin drawing constituency from the northern end of the district; the Third Baptist Church, with its vast city-wide membership, but little identified with the fortunes of the district, and the Holy Communion Protestant Episcopal Church, which within a few years has begun a most active service-program for its immediate neighborhood. Within the present generation, no district has suffered so much from the migration of churches. Eleven churches, among them some of the strongest and most important of the city, have moved out of it within the last thirty years. While fourteen Protestant churches remain, they are either of the more primitive sects or else serving constituencies largely located elsewhere. One of these is just now in the act of departure. This leaves Holy Communion alone specifically devoting itself to the new Protestant population of the district, yet it probably contains from 13,000 to 15,000 white people of Protestant antecedents.

From the standpoint of the rest of the city, District IX at present is merely a transportation funnel from which traffic pours back and forth to and from the center. The entire area of the district is open to industry and is being rapidly occupied. Even the tide of better Negro population, which so recently entered it, has already begun to pass farther on. Residentially, it is done for, yet it has not yet acquired the true characteristics of the downtown district; and no one can tell for how long people will cling to its cracks and crannies—their needs all the greater because their fortunes are so greatly handicapped.

THE WORST

This heading describes District III—Downtown. It stands at the bottom of the list socially on all counts, and though not fully surveyed religiously has the marks of lowest standing in this respect also.

This, the original center and the present focus of the city, performs the functions of the central district of any great metropolis. In St. Louis:

(1) It is the retail business center.
(2) It contains the transportation terminals, both river and rail,—the docks, bridges, railroad yards and Union Station, also the wholesale and storage businesses which go with transportation terminals.
(3) It contains a concentrated area of manufacturing surrounding the retail business in the district with the river at its base.
(4) It is the focal point of all local transportation lines. The streets leading directly west from the business section constitute a transportation funnel in which traffic is more concentrated in a small area than in any other American city.
(5) It contains the headquarters of the executive and socially controlling agencies of the city—governmental, economic and civic.

In these various uses of the district, 100,000 people move in and out daily, largely forgetful of the fact that the district is the permanent dwelling place of 65,000 more. The resident population has decreased by nearly one-fourth in the past decade by reason of the growth of business and industry, but in the area still occupied probably remains more congested than before.

The remaining people are 45.2 per cent. native-born white; 29.3 per cent. foreign-born white and 28.6 per cent. Negro. Adding their children to the number of those actually foreign-born makes the white population of the district at least three-quarters of recent foreign antecedents. The most numerous nationalities are Italian, Russian and Polish. The area of foreign concentration is on the northern border of the district.

There are approximately 4,000 more foreign men than women. This surplus population is represented by the male lodger living with the immigrant family and increasing the congestion and immorality of the foreign section. Five thousand more surplus men, chiefly of American origin, are concentrated in the lodging house district, adjoining which is the area of commercialized prostitution.

HUMAN MIXTURES

District III groups together greater varieties of humanity than any other part of the city. Here young adventurers, living in fur-

nished rooms and boarding houses, adjoin the failures of the city, the hoboes and casual labor elements. The newest immigrants, both white and Negro, pour in upon old strata of population, going back to the original Irish. In this general mixture all elements are demoralized.

This shows clearly in all types of population. The Hebrew, whose family life is carefully preserved and whose juvenile delinquency record is good in the parts of the city where there are solid Jewish colonies, is unable to retain his standards under these conditions. His children share with those of other foreigners and Negroes in the excess delinquency record. The Negro who approximates the social average in District XIV is far below it here. The district is at the bottom of the scale on all points. Its excessive illiteracy is primarily due to its foreign-born; its tuberculosis to the Negro, while its poverty and infant mortality are distributed between all elements.

Because the headquarters of the leading charitable and social agencies of the city are within the district, they have given it special attention, with the result that there is a disastrous overlapping of remedial agencies in the heart of the foreign quarters and a corresponding neglect of the more fragmentary population living in the pockets of industry.

Religiously, the district shows the usual phenomena of low-standard areas. Its people who still profess some religious adherence no longer go to church, and it has only half as many Protestant children in Sunday school as the city average. The Survey found many unchurched Catholics. Five regular Protestant churches maintain themselves within the district. Two of these, Christ Church Cathedral and Centenary Methodist Episcopal Church, are historic churches continuing in their present locations for sentimental reasons. Christ Church Cathedral has notably ministered through clubs to the young population of the neighborhood and Centenary Church is increasing its activity in this field. Boyle Memorial Center is a Presbyterian Church and neighborhood house located in the very heart of the polyglot population, while the First Italian Baptist Church in the same neighborhood has a somewhat narrower program dealing with a single nationality.

Besides these St. Thomas' Episcopal Mission for the Deaf has a regular church organization. In the lodging house district there are five or six interdenominational missions, besides the Salvation Army and Volunteers of America; and there is one mission on the north side of the district.

Only two or three of the nearly forty Negro churches in the district have permanent church buildings. This is in radical con-

trast with the large and often well-equipped Negro churches of the adjoining District IX. In one case four congregations were found using a single rented building. With two exceptions these churches are all Baptist in name. Many, however, are mere disintegrated fragments. Of the entire forty not more than two or three have a creditable institutional program. These transient and irregular Negro churches are the racial counterpart of the holiness missions which serve the white rural immigrant recently come to St. Louis.

Thirteen Protestant churches have removed from the district within thirty years. The largest of those remaining are only slightly related to the district in their main constituencies. The two which have attempted definite social adaptation to their neighborhoods touch but a handful of people, and are poorly housed and inadequately sustained. The most extensive and vital religious influences are those of the wild religions, white and Negro; but it is hard to see in these an effective substitute for the standard type of Protestantism.

The whole city uses District III as its center. This use makes impossible the ordinary conditions of wholesome residence. But it definitely lays the burden of the situation upon the city. More than any other area District III is the parish of all the churches. Some form of coöperative effort equal to the situation is clearly called for. Similarly, a comprehensive civic program for rehabilitating the center of the city is manifestly demanded. This is attempted in the City Plan Commission's project for a civic center, grouping the municipal buildings and rearranging streets so as to create a worthy focus for the whole city.

THE BEST

Webster Groves is a residential suburb. The more privileged populations of St. Louis have established themselves at the circumference of its western expansion, many of them outside the city limits. This largest of the suburbs is now a city of 10,000 people which has had rapid growth since its incorporation in 1896. The community occupies a beautiful forested area bordered by the bold valley of the River Des Peres. Seven railroad stations serve as centers for its rather scattered population. Neither the religious nor the social data were studied by methods statistically comparable with those used for Districts in the city but its general character leads to the presumption that it would rank above them all in both these respects.

Nearly 90 per cent. of the people of Webster Groves are native Americans, a considerable number of whom have Danish or German

parentage. Only 5 per cent. are foreign-born and 5 per cent. Negro. The school survey shows only two foreign-born children and seven of Hebrew parentage. Webster Groves, in other words, is white, American, and nominally Christian to a far greater degree than any part of St. Louis. It is a place where many people do not have to work and where those who do work have nice jobs. About one-fourth less of its people are gainfully employed than in St. Louis and two-thirds of the workers are engaged in business or the professions. Thus it is a highly selective suburb, occupationally speaking.

Four-fifths of the religious people of Webster Groves are Protestant. It has a much larger proportion of total adherents than has St. Louis and they are more often church members than in the city. Sunday schools are larger, but not as much larger as is church membership. Denominational lines are loosely drawn in Sunday school attendance. Children of strict Lutherans, Catholics and Christian Scientists regularly belong to the English-speaking Protestant Sunday schools.

There are seventeen white Protestant churches and four Negro churches besides one Roman Catholic. The Congregational denomination leads numerically and the Presbyterian is also stronger than its city rank. The churches are well organized and have enjoyed greater growth and stability than those of the city.

The community throughout is very highly organized. It has no less than 221 voluntary associations and societies with an aggregate membership of 17,000. This means that the average inhabitant beyond the age of infancy belongs to at least two organizations. There is, however, little centralized community activity. Apart from the schools the municipal government has not strongly served the higher interests of the people.

The mark of this prosperous community is individualism. This exists to a degree which is not possible where social evils are heavier. While Webster Groves has traces of poverty and delinquency, it does not know the continuous pressure of such problems. Its life is beautiful, but perhaps not altogether noble. Here an American population of more than average wealth and good fortune has radically separated itself from the urban group of which it is a part, and has thus avoided its major evils. Protestantism flourishes. The community subdivides into little groups of people who like each other. Life is pleasant and relaxed. This is salvation by escape—if it is salvation.

CONCLUSIONS BASED ON SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS GEOGRAPHY

(1) There is no such wide difference between the best and the worst in the religious field as there is in the field of social fortunes.

(2) There is no complete correlation between the two fields. The areas of religious and social success and failure coincide for most of the city, but on the South side a special combination of concrete conditions makes a large area of especially prosperous homes religiously undesirable and in special need of active evangelization.

Chapter XIII

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The following sections keep the general order and subject matter of the successive chapters but are not absolutely limited to the same content.

These practical Findings and Recommendations have the formal approval of the local Survey Executive Committee as a code of Protestant conduct in response to the challenge of the Survey.

I. ST. LOUIS AND CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP

1. The St. Louis Survey and the development of Protestantism in the city are of more than local significance. The churches of the city have enormous prestige, especially in the Southwest. St. Louis is the official headquarters of a large number of denominations, the district headquarters of others and the center of educational life—through institutions and the religious press—for some millions of American Christians.

2. St. Louis, therefore, owes it to her position as a metropolitan city to perfect her religious organization, not only of the local churches and of the denominations but of the coöperative forms of Protestantism, so that she may rightly lead the great imperial region which looks up to her.

3. Any distinct progress, any distinguished contribution to religious statesmanship through the adoption of a scientific basis for church policy, and particularly a larger adaptation of church methods to the social needs of people in St. Louis, will constitute an immeasurable contribution to the country at large.

4. The denominational agencies centered in St. Louis should, therefore, make the utmost possible use of the results of the St. Louis Survey and the processes which it may initiate. They can well afford to regard the city as a vast laboratory devoted to the solution of America's urban problems. The systematic following out of this method would constitute a piece of national religious statesmanship.

5. All the large cities of America have the common problems of St. Louis. There is widespread interest, expressed through the Home Missions Council and the respective national denominational headquarters, and also through the Federal Council of Churches

of Christ in America, in the findings of this Survey, and in the follow-up process which St. Louis will initiate and carry on. In this respect, St. Louis is a city set on a hill. It cannot be hid. In no inaccurate sense it must be urged that an unparalleled opportunity is before the religious forces of the city. The entire problem of urban Christianity in America has had new light shed upon it, and the practical applications of the new knowledge have significance for those other cities which constitute the home of half the population of these United States.

II. STRENGTH OF RELIGIOUS FORCES RELATIVE TO POPULATION

Church membership is gaining faster than population; but the gain was relatively not so fast between 1910 and 1920, as between 1900 and 1910. In view of the fact that about one-fourth of the people are still entirely out of touch with organized faith, this decline in the rate of progress showing a falling off from the best formerly done by the Church is a ground for regret and alarm.

It is recommended that a systematic evangelistic drive be made on the unchurched, in the light of the deeper knowledge of the specific causes of their condition afforded by the Survey, and also that the evangelism be accompanied by social means to correct particular evils.

III. OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS OF SPECIAL POPULATIONS

1. The most serious religious problem relating to a special population is that of Americans of foreign or mixed parentage. Both the findings of the Survey and the experience of the churches for many years agree that a larger proportion of the second generation than of any other group is out of active relationship with the Church. This is true especially of Americans of German antecedents.

This problem is regarded as one to be met quite as much by changes in the atmosphere of religion and in the general spirit of the Church as by aggressive propaganda.

It is recommended, however, that every effort be made to increase the efficiency and breadth of the churches ministering especially to this population, or situated in areas in which this population is strong.

2. The rural immigrant to St. Louis represents the largest element of population lapsed from previous Christian confession and connections. In an appallingly large proportion of cases the change from rural to urban environment involves loss of church relationship.

It is recommended that each denomination institute exchange of information between its country and small community churches and the St. Louis churches concerning adherents who are migrating to the city, the Church Federation acting as a clearing house of such information in its more general aspects.

3. The incoming of many thousands of rural Negroes constitutes a similar religious problem. In this process many thousands of them have fallen out of effective church relationships even according to their own previous standards. The Negro religious situation is a burden to be borne by the entire city.

4. The foreign-born constitute a reduced religious problem, so far as size is concerned; but the clannishness, the low economic standards and decreasing assimilability of the more recent comers from foreign lands, leave their religious problems still very inadequately met.

5. All young people, newly come into an urban environment, and living for the first time outside of the family group and the association of old acquaintances, constitute an element of gravest spiritual and moral danger as well as one of untold possibilities.

It is urged that all religious forces keep steadily in sympathetic touch with all these groups and that agencies particularly designed to serve them receive increased united support.

6. Like all great cities, St. Louis is a habitual center of large numbers of homeless men, many of them permanently detached from family life and without citizenship or responsible relationships anywhere. The presence of this group constitutes a religious and social challenge as yet only partly met by the successful street preaching conducted by the Church Federation.

7. The individualism of large elements of the suburban population, and their detachment both from church and civic responsibilities in the attempt to solve the problem of well-being in terms of the single family, make this group also one seriously calling for constructive religious remedy. The suburban Christian should be reminded continuously of his solidarity with the city and be put under constant discipline by the sharing of its burdens.

IV. BASIC ASPECTS OF POPULATION CHANGE

1. The constant and rapid movement of individuals to different habitations and different localities is characteristic of the city. It represents an inevitable social process, perhaps a possibility of individual advantage, which is among the chief gifts of the city. It is accompanied, however, with woeful frequency, by a loss of interest in, and of active connections with, the Church.

It is recommended that the united evangelistic effort for the unchurched specialize in the recovery of lapsed members of the Protestant household of faith.

2. The shifting of population so that the character of large areas suffers radical change, is another characteristic of the modern city. These changes are both economic and religious, frequently substituting people of much lower standards of living and of different faiths for an older population. Such mass changes are nearly fatal to the continuous operation of a church by local support and on the basis of an individual parish policy.

Such population changes, however, are never immediate or complete. They inevitably leave large sub-strata of the older population, who frequently, in the past, have been deserted by the church to which they adhered and left both to religious and to physical poverty.

3. The right of the individual church to locate advantageously in a desirable neighborhood does not relieve the Church collectively from responsibility to serve the entire city religiously all the time. If the local congregation moves for its advantage, the church in some capacity must stay and serve the people of its old parish.

4. This responsibility is both religious and social. Even when the population of a neighborhood is changed so completely that a Protestant church is, from the religious standpoint, no longer necessary—as when a Jewish population supplants a Christian one—the social responsibility of the church is not discharged. When it goes, it must go without either religious or social loss to the community from which it removes. This principle implies that there is an obligation upon the church for coöperation even outside the boundaries of the Protestant faith, so that some church shall be available to all the people all the time.

5. Many of the churches would willingly stay and meet the problems of a changing population in a spirit of devotion, if they could be financially supported. In order that they may have this actual opportunity, it should be established as a general principle that the financial resources of each communion in the city become available for the areas where mass changes of population may occur.

6. In case of the abandonment of a neighborhood by a Protestant church, the care of the diminished Protestant population may even sometimes be better committed to some other denomination than to that of the departing church. Each case of removal on account of radically changed population conditions should, therefore, be regarded as involving the common policy of all the Protestant churches of the city, and should become the subject of consultation

in order that the problem may be disposed of in the most statesmanlike way, and after consideration of all the factors involved.

V. GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS

1. The ideal of equalizing religious opportunity and service for the entire city ought to be expanded to include the suburbs and the Illinois portion of the metropolitan area.

2. Nowhere in the Missouri part of the area covered by the Survey has there been found an absolute lack of Protestant churches and church activities.

When a seeming lack has been noted in the past, invariably the partially organized and irregularly organized agencies of Protestant Christianity have not been reckoned with. When missions and irregular Protestant sects, such as the various Holiness and faith-healing bodies are counted, St. Louis is amply provided with churches.

3. The problem is not that of more churches but of more adequate churches.

4. Religious problems of St. Louis have ultimately a topographical basis. The most acute problems are found in the valley dividing the North Side and the South Side. There most of the recently arrived rural immigrants are congregated. The entire margin of the city connecting the central valley with the river along the industrial and transportation belt which follows the city limits, constitutes a sphere of religious challenge. The two central lobes of higher land and higher grade population on the North Side and South Side, respectively, are the two lungs of the city, breathing in and giving out its religious life.

5. There is a distinct South Side religious problem. Its solution lies primarily in giving the existing churches prestige and in developing them to the point of conscious civic relationship and responsibility. As was shown in Chapter III,[1] the migration of historic St. Louis churches is almost entirely a North Side phenomenon. The influential names and the dominant currents of Christian influence, both denominational and city-wide, have followed along the path of successive removals of the older and more prominent churches from downtown to the West End. The hardest part of the city for church success has thus been left with the smallest amount of Protestant momentum, ability, and investment. This is both cause and effect of the present situation on the South Side.

It is recommended that it be one of the major policies of United Protestantism in St. Louis to tone up and back up the South Side

1 See page 71. Also Appendix, Table LI.

churches until they reach a position commensurate with those of the North Side.

6. The East End religious problem is primarily one of local adaptation to the practical needs of the population of this area. The East End is characteristically a place of business and industry, in the crannies and pockets of which the remains of successive deposits of population live, along with great numbers of recently arrived foreigners or Negroes.

The solution of this problem involves city-wide coöperation and support, under common policy.

7. The suburbs and the more rapidly developing edges of the city are the areas most in need of religious strategy with respect to the placing of churches and those of greatest danger with respect to denominational competition and overlapping.

It is recommended that the Church Federation establish, and through the Commission on Church Extension make effective, a reasonable ratio between actual population at a given time and the number of Protestant churches to be established.

It is further recommended that there be special conference between denominations of the same denominational family, to avoid duplication of churches appealing to the same historical elements of population.

8. There is no successful example of an actual united Protestant policy for a metropolitan area lying in different states. The ideal of the St. Louis Church Federation to include the Protestant forces of the Illinois side of the Greater St. Louis area is, nevertheless, in harmony with the logic of social facts. The entire area is one city in economic and social reality. So far as possible, there should be a conscious community of religious life.

It is recommended that at least the most important policies of the coöperating St. Louis churches be extended to the churches of the Illinois side, and that statistical records and major studies of the Church Federation, with a view to the measurement and assistance of further Protestant growth, be made to include the entire metropolitan area.

It is recommended that if the St. Louis Church Federation shall adopt a policy of local district federations within the city, the same plan be extended to the churches on the Illinois side, which would then constitute a federation group within the Greater Federation.

VI. LOCAL CHURCHES

1. The family type church, based upon a specific area of responsibility, should strive to perfect itself according to its denomina-

tional standards of local church life. It should organize internally to an extent sufficient to serve all its age-groups, but should preserve essentially the idea of a family unity, and should not attempt highly specialized forms of service before it has definitely attained to excellence within its own type. The majority of churches in St. Louis should continue to be of this type, which is generally characteristic of the American city.

2. The function of preaching the gospel, apart from, as well as in connection with, complete church organization, is a permanent part of Christian service. Historically speaking, Evangelization came before any institutionalized form of faith. Street preaching, special places of evangelism, such as tents and gospel halls, and evangelistic effort not immediately connected with formal church life, have place and should receive due attention from the Protestant forces. This is especially desirable because so large a proportion of this informal evangelism is in the hands of crude and ill-balanced Christian types.

It is recommended that the Church Federation project, and groups of local churches, carry out extensive campaigns of such informal evangelism wherever gospel halls and other irregular forms of religious organization are found to flourish. It is particularly necessary that a rational, but richly emotional presentation of the gospel be brought to multitudes who are now receiving as the gospel wild and unworthy versions of Christian faith.

3. The larger and wealthier churches of the city should lead in experiments in forms of service suitable to the urban family church. The churches of St. Louis are generally unadventurous and imitative in their forms of service. Churches which have greater capacity and resource for initiating and trying out hopeful lines of endeavor should regard themselves as conducting laboratory experiments for the benefit of all. The Federation of Churches should keep in touch with all such efforts, and make them available to the entire Protestant fellowship.

It is recommended that all promising experiments in church work be studied and that the Community Training School for Church School Workers include consideration of them as part of its current training for religious leadership.

4. It is particularly incumbent upon the leading churches of the city to develop a truly city-wide consciousness and sense of responsibility, together with a better developed spirit of team-play. Beyond others, the more intelligent and prosperous element of the Christian population must live as citizens of the entire city. It is particularly important that the leadership of such churches become scientifically informed regarding city-wide religious and social

matters in order that their leadership may be competent and adequately informed.

5. In neighborhoods in which standards of living are poor there are sometimes churches with memberships made up of families below the level of normal life and economic independence. These poor family churches cannot develop of themselves, or out of their members in the neighborhood, the necessary knowledge and strength to meet their own special problems. Yet they are, and probably will be for a long time, the more frequent type of church in poor neighborhoods. It is important, therefore, that such churches be related in definite ways to other agencies which can meet the social problems of their neighborhoods. Such agencies may be public and civic, but will naturally include the well-developed community serving churches of their district, where such exist.

It is recommended that all missions or family churches of poor families be encouraged by the Church Federation to become systematically allied with stronger institutional churches, or other social agencies working in their neighborhoods.

6. Churches with city-wide memberships, located in downtown or the other poor parts of the city, or in other central locations, should at least have localized subsidiary organizations serving the immediate neighborhood around each church building. They may draw members from everywhere but they should not neglect the particular area lying nearest the church. In carrying out the principle of the localized areal responsibility they should be ready to accept definite service of adequate variety and scope, for the areas contiguous to their buildings.

7. Churches located in downtown or other central locations, where there is a large transient population should take a specific responsibility for such transients and should develop forms of service appropriate to them.

8. Churches located at minor centers, such as suburban towns or in parts of the city that have developed special civic consciousness, should identify themselves with the leadership of such communities in all good things. The duty of community leadership is laid upon such churches, as it is not upon churches located in undifferentiated residential territory. Emphasis upon denominational character to the extent of thwarting possible community leadership should by all means be avoided.

9. The needs of Negro churches are much the same, under normal conditions, as are those of churches with white congregations. The development of Negro religious tendencies at the present stage indicates, however, that preaching, as a distinct function not necessarily attached to highly organized church life, is most im-

portant. Sober, earnest, and effective evangelism is to be stressed generally. The leakage of Negro church members in the transition from country to city has been serious; and only by earnest efforts can this heavy loss be recovered.

10. The majority of Negro churches which have any continuity and definite development are, and ought to be, family churches. Many are without buildings; and a long time will be required for them, unaided, to become adequately developed and equipped according to the standards of the several denominations. Aid in this direction is the first need of the Negro churches.

A few carefully located and properly equipped and administered community-serving Negro churches are very desirable; but it would be unwise for Negro churches in general to embark upon extensive experiments in social work for which they are without proper equipment or experience. It must be insisted upon that social work be adequate and that the church promoting it be able to take its place among the responsible forces of the city in meeting the primal needs.

VII. THE LOCAL CHURCHES FACING THE NECESSITY OF MORE RADICAL ADAPTATION

1. The churches of St. Louis are not as varied as the city. The diversity of population elements, the baffling phenomenon of rapid physical changes, the shifting of people from place to place and the fact of the glaring contrasts in social fortunes, require that new concrete expressions be given to the principle that the church should put itself to the service of the particular environment in which it is located. This will frequently involve radical adaptations.

2. Every church should regard adequate service in its neighborhood as a primary aspect of its Christian responsibility.

3. Such neighborhood service will ordinarily be the primary function of the church, unless there is specific reason against it.

4. There is, therefore, a strong presumption in favor of the compact parish. Ordinarily, the best church is the one whose people live close about it, thus making it possible to identify the service of individual members and families with the welfare of the immediate neighborhood. Parochial policies should look to the development of such compact service acres.

5. Churches with city-wide membership are amply justified as exceptions when located at strategic centers. They exert city-wide influence and give religion prestige as many localized churches could not. As was indicated in a previous paragraph they should, however, assume localized responsibility and give adequate service within

their immediate neighborhoods. A church should never be counted successful because of its far-reaching influence, unless it is giving adequate attention to the needs of the people at its doors.

6. The privilege of membership in a central church remote from the neighborhood of one's actual dwelling should not be thought of as absolving a Christian from some responsibility for the churches of his neighborhood. All holding such a membership should be thought of as having a dual Christian relationship which ought to be expressed by friendly support of and interest in the neighboring churches, if by nothing more.

7. The greatest need of adaptation to the service of the neighborhood is found in the poor sections of the city, identified as the C and D districts in the Survey. In these districts the presumption is that a church should conform to a highly specialized type of service.

8. In such areas of special social disadvantage, the localized responsibility of the church should be definitely insisted upon. In such areas the twofold function of the church becomes apparent and has a bearing upon practical programizing. Such a church is both a center of religious life and inspiration, and a social service agency for the neighborhood and community. The various aspects of the Protestant Christian faith, expressing themselves in different denominational convictions, must have opportunity for expression. The religious phase of the church's work cannot therefore be kept within exclusive parishes. But every reason of social policy and economy and of community welfare, dictates that the social service phases of church work should not overlap and compete within a given area.

9. In the social functions which the church in the more needy parts of the city should undertake lie untold possibilities for human welfare. This makes it imperative that when the churches cannot coöperate in such work, they at least divide the territory so they shall not compete. The social service area of a given church may well be smaller than that of its religious parish. Within this area it should seek to perform efficiently, and without regard to sect or creed, the social ministries which it undertakes. Its work within a given area should invariably be a work for all the people without religious distinction and without any requirement as to the religious adherence of those who receive social benefits.

10. Each type of church appropriate to such districts should have definite standards of physical equipment, of workers for its specialized services, technical preparation and excellence of results. There should be minimum requirements for qualifying as a com-

munity-serving church without which radical adaptations of program should not be attempted.

11. The need of such standards is demonstrated by numerous cases of maladaptation or fragmentary and ill-balanced attempts to do social work, without proper equipment or preparation.

12. The change from one type to another on the part of a church through such a process of radical adaptation and acceptance of appropriate standards is of interest to the entire Protestant work and should ordinarily be made in conference with the Church Federation.

13. The Church Federation may well be invited to advise as to whether the requirements of the situation can actually be met and whether the proposed change of type is a genuine fulfillment of the necessary standards of community work.

14. In case of such change of type, the church would propose to itself the adoption of a reasonable time schedule within which the proposed change should be made and the minimum requirements reached, and the recognition of the Church Federation should be dependent upon its observance.

15. Adequate standards for community serving or institutional churches have evolved as a result of the experience of the Church in such work throughout the country.

It is recommended that the Church Federation develop and secure denominational approval of descriptive nomenclature and standards for different types of churches adapted to community service in poor districts.

It is recommended that the Church Federation shall collect the results of such experience and in coöperation with the St. Louis Community Council, representing local leadership of the social agencies, shall formulate standards to be recommended for churches in the city.

16. It is recognized that the radical change in the type of service which a church undertakes will frequently mean the elimination of a part of its old constituency. In such cases, the plans of the church and of the Church Federation should anticipate this possibility and see that proper provision is made for those who will not be satisfactorily served under new conditions.

17. In such cases, as in the case of the removal of a church from the field, it may be well to consider whether the transfer of the project to a new denomination is not best. Such a transfer frequently will break with hampering tradition and make possible clear-cut and adequate adaptation.

VIII. RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

1. The facts that Sunday school enrollment is smaller than church membership and that the ratio of Sunday school pupils to church members is decreasing are outstanding reasons for concern.

2. The further facts that the majority of adolescents are not now in Sunday school, although they were in it as children, and that they are not now connected with any organized effort in religious education reveal one of the fundamental failures of the Protestant forces.

3. The St. Louis Sunday schools as a body are undistinguished and lacking in originality, in spite of the exceptional Community Training School for Teachers which is available for the training of their leaders.

It is recommended that city-wide efforts in behalf of the Sunday school stress equally the need of more and of better training for leaders, and that a campaign to increase and maintain regular Sunday school attendance go hand in hand with improvement of the educational quality of Sunday school work, and with the effort to make the atmosphere of Sunday school education harmonious with the spirit and needs of youth.

As a means to this end, it is recommended that Sunday school statistics, as kept by the coöperating Protestant denominations, uniformly include a record of average attendance and of the qualitative aspects of religious education. They should especially include statistics of the relation of Sunday school attendance to church membership, in order that the city may know how effective its Sunday schools are in continuity of religious culture and in translating it into permanent Christian allegiance.

4. The Daily Vacation Bible School has had exceptional development in St. Louis. Other very promising experiments in religious education have been carried on by groups of churches and by individual parishes. The churches of German-speaking origin have carried over the tradition of the parochial school. The total situation presents diverse elements which need systematization. It is recommended that a strong effort be made to organize these rich and varied elements into a commanding and unified scheme of religious education into which they shall all fall harmoniously without the loss of any existing values. It is also recommended that, more than in the past, religious education as thus formulated be conceived as a central aspect of the life of the church.

In view of hopeful experiments in week-day religious instruction, it is recommended that a place for the Protestant share in a

universal system for this form of instruction be included in the religious education scheme of the Protestant churches.

5. The city-wide institutions of religious education are now in the hands of several organizations coöperating most heartily. There is under way a great national movement for the further integration of the agencies of religious education and character growth.

In deciding and carrying out the city-wide plan of religious education, it is recommended that a more formal and logical relationship of the agencies be worked out.

6. The department of religious education of the Church Federation should stand at the center of such a Protestant board of religious strategy with adequate leadership and finance. All Protestant institutions, ecclesiastical and non-ecclesiastical, related to this field and serving the age-groups especially represented in the Sunday school should be related to such a board of strategy.

IX. PRINCIPLE OF LOCALIZED RESPONSIBILITY

1. Every church must assume its share of the undivided religious responsibility of all of the churches for all of the people all of the time.

2. Every church must localize this responsibility, primarily at least, in a more immediate geographical parish.

3. This will inevitably result in the overlapping of the areas served by Protestant churches. Their several adherents are intermingled, and freedom of choice as to church affiliation will continue to intermingle them permanently.

The strategy of church location probably dictates that many churches should be located in clusters near the greater or lesser centers of transportation and in places of habitual congregation when people develop a tendency toward the neighborhood consciousness. This precludes the possibility of mutually exclusive parishes.

4. It is the duty of contiguous populations forming part of one natural neighborhood or community to unite themselves in common religious fellowship and service. Their Christian relationships are not exhausted by their local denominational allegiances nor are they fully expressed by membership in the separate churches. The people are neighbors and brethren. They must develop a positive phase of Christian fellowship and service which shall be super-denominational. The neighborhood area must be the scene of this fellowship. Whatever may be the parish of the church, the neighborhood is the parish of its Christian inhabitants.

5. This principle takes both positive and negative form with respect to the church. Negatively it forbids un-Christian rivalry.

Positively it requires, beyond incidental competitions of churches, that their members shall regard themselves as complementary parts of one organized neighborhood Christianity.

6. The localized responsibility of the churches requires that together they shall be inclusive. They must coöperate in a serious attempt to assimilate all their available neighbors to their fellowship and activity.

7. This does not mean that they must have identical programs. In order to be truly complementary, the clustered churches of a neighborhood, so far as possible, should have different programs, each stressing that which it can best contribute to the common field.

8. These principles require that, in the location of new churches, very careful studies should be made to determine what area each is to serve intensively, the exact needs of the area, and the extent to which it is already being served by other Protestant agencies.

It is recommended that the method of parish study developed by the Survey be used in all such cases. This method locates exactly the residence of every person served by any church in a given area, and his distance from the church to which he adheres. This should be supplemented by an actual household canvass under the auspices of the Church Federation, to determine the definite preferences of the people living in the district. In cases where the facts do not clearly point to a decision, it is recommended that the Federation conduct a referendum of the Protestant adherents of the district to determine which denomination is to receive approval.

It is further recommended that the Federation should, where possible, anticipate the possible demands for new churches in the entire city and metropolitan area so as to be able, on the ground of carefully prepared studies, to initiate such projects when needed.

9. In the location of new churches in the older parts of the city, it is recommended that a similar procedure be followed, but that for churches proposing to locate at major centers, and to serve more than a local area, the possible contribution of the church to the entire city be considered, as well as the service to the localized field.

10. In cases of adjustment between existing churches having overlapping service areas, it is recommended that the Church Federation make accurate parish studies showing the exact kind and degree of service rendered by each church to the people of the area in question, so that in spite of overlapping fields, there shall be as little overlapping of functions as possible. The two churches should be encouraged to do different kinds of work, or to undertake certain functions coöperatively.

It is recommended that the Protestant parish plan, already approved by the Church Federation, assigning exclusive areas to

each church for the particular purpose of canvass and intensive cultivation, be put into effect as rapidly as possible.

11. In spite of the inevitable mobility of city populations, the individual Christian should always have some church home. He belongs somewhere and has responsibility somewhere all of the time, —primarily to that denominational church in which he can best serve and be served.

Without making an arbitrary demand upon any Christian to surrender the advantage of the wider choice of religious fellowship, made possible by easy transportation, certain presumptions should be established as to the distance which the Christian family should be ordinarily expected to go to church.

It is recommended that further study of parish areas be made by the Church Federation in order to establish actual distances within which the most efficient service can be done by the church for its members; and that the importance of ordinarily finding church membership within this distance be urged.

12. The district studies of the Survey establish the validity and illustrate the method of applying localized responsibility. They are not, however, final, nor as yet satisfactory, for practical programizing, since they were based upon districts devised for another purpose.

It is, therefore, recommended that the Church Federation redistrict the city, on the basis of natural areas within which localized fellowship is to be urged and expected.

X. THE DENOMINATIONS IN THEIR CITY-WIDE FUNCTIONS

The foregoing summary of the problems facing the local church in the city makes it evident that there is no possible solution without the full functioning of present denominational machinery. Successful coöperative work is work through denominations.

1. Proportionately to their size and ability the denominations should share in the common work, irrespective of their national relationships and the formal attitude of their communions. They are responsible units of the Protestant body in St. Louis, each accountable for a definite part in the common task. The vast needs of the city and the manifest necessity of united counsel and policy should appeal to all communions in their local organizations. As a matter of fact, it has very largely done so and the degree of working coöperation is most gratifying and hopeful.

2. Denominations should not try to cover the entire city, nor to follow the dispersion of their constituencies throughout its entire area. They should rather organize their churches in strategic loca-

tions and in units of sufficient size, with reference to all the Protestant forces and the really adequate religious service of all the people. This principle means that if a member is so far from a church of his own choice that his family is not receiving adequate service for all its members and in all the functions which his church should naturally perform for them, it is the part of Christian good sense to encourage his transfer even to a church of another denomination where really adequate service can be given.

3. In view of the fact that there is great difference between the denominations in the ratio of losses to gains, and that conspicuous denominational growth is dependent in all cases upon the conservation of existing membership, every effort should be made by all churches to minimize losses which now constitute an intolerable burden as well as a spiritual tragedy.

The character of the efficient parish, the range of efficient service, and considerations of reasonable economy in the cost of equipment, maintenance and adaptation, may wisely govern denominational strategy in the location and development of churches to a greater extent than in the past.

4. The development of the Sunday school relative to the size of the church membership is a fundamental criterion of denominational success. Those denominations which have small Sunday schools, without an adequate equivalent for religious instruction through the parochial school, should make strenuous efforts to secure a more healthful balance.

5. The lack of balance in denominational benevolence appears to be established by the twenty-one-year statistics. It would seem part of the normal development of church life that all forms of Christian work which have been developed by the churches collectively should have due recognition and support in all of their denominational branches.

6. The deliberate policies of any denomination are accepted as wise for them and are not called into question by the Survey. Accidental tendencies, however, into which denominations have fallen blindly may properly be challenged. Denominations may well correct such one-sided development by comparisons with one another.

7. In order that such comparisons may be more accurate than present records make possible, the relationship of the various forms of adherence to the different denominations should be more fully recorded.

It is recommended that the Church Federation, in carrying on its systematic membership accounting with the several denominations and churches, shall secure reports as to the membership of all subsidiary organizations within the church, such as clubs and asso-

ciations of various sorts, together with the degree to which their membership overlaps, so that the actual body of denominational adherents and the varying degrees of adherence which they represent may be known, as a basis for scientific comparisons and policy.

8. The financial reports of the various denominations are particularly unfortunate from the standpoint of accurate comparisons.

It is recommended that the Church Federation devise methods by which ordinary church expenditures may be isolated from extraordinary expenditures for plant in current accounting, and by which there shall be a closer analysis of the objects of benevolence comprehended under the term "Other Benevolence." The present method makes it impossible to discover the actual relative denominational contributions to denominational philanthropy, to interdenominational, social and religious work,—such as the Red Cross and the Y. M. C. A.—and to world-wide special appeals like that of the Near East Relief.

It is important to the St. Louis churches that they understand the actual share which each denomination has in these agencies of the Kingdom of God.

9. The Survey makes possible for each denomination a more accurate and intelligent development of policy and gives definite grounds of hope to each that it may have increasing influence within the field of common service.

10. The duty of coöperation generally in the more needy parts of the city and in planning an effective strategy for the whole is an outstanding impression of the entire survey study.

XI. DENOMINATIONAL PHILANTHROPIES

1. The denominational philanthropies of St. Louis are vast, and fill a tremendous need. They have, however, grown up independently, without thought of constituting a related and balanced system, and without adequate sense of the need of coöperation with other agencies in meeting the social responsibilities which they have undertaken.

2. As in the matter of church work, all deliberate denominational policies for carrying on the various philanthropies are to be accepted as valid. The fact that denominations choose radically different methods is to be recognized as indicating equally legitimate alternative methods.

3. Whatever method is adopted, however, there should be acceptance of the technical standards and facilities required for the performance of adequate philanthropic and social work. Each denomination must do well what it undertakes.

4. The pastoral work of the Christian ministry is essentially case work, and the religious motive is of fundamental importance in both individual and family rehabilitation. The pastor and religious worker, on the other hand, should be trained in the principles of modern case work, so that all social motives may be added to religious motives in bringing about the desired result. The charitable relief of members of the church by the church rests on established historic foundations, but in continuing to perform this function for its members the church must learn to do it well. The church is not legally permitted to assume entire responsibility in cases of extremely abnormal family or community conditions. Society always shares the ultimate burden, and the public and social agencies representing society must therefore always be in the confidence of the church in its relief work.

5. It is recommended that the churches should become members of the district committees of the Provident Association, and that in all but entirely temporary emergency cases, they should use the Charities Register in connection with their relief.

6. It is recognized that the advantages of the alternative methods of caring for dependent children in institutions or placing them out in homes are proper subjects for discussion and difference of conviction. Whatever method is adopted by denominational philanthropies should conform to the standards and requirements appropriate to that method.

7. The denominational children's homes in St. Louis are largely duplicatory, as is natural from the fact that they grew up independently. The needs of the community would be better served if one home were to take the children of a given age or condition, and another a different class. The mixing of boys and girls, and the attempt to handle children of too wide an age range make some of the institutions less efficient than the same investment of money and devotion might make them.

It is recommended that all church institutions should make the investigations preliminary to the acceptance of children, the standard physical and mental examinations, keep the case records, and follow the methods of placing out which are agreed upon in the standard practice of the best social agencies.

When children are kept in institutions, these institutions should be as homelike as possible. The plan of housing them in small groups and giving them the individual care of foster-father and mother should by all means be preserved.

It is recommended that the Church Federation, in coöperation with the appropriate agency of the St. Louis Community Council,

work out a standard statement of these principles, and indicate their application to the denominational children's homes.

It is recommended that the institutions consider whether they should not ultimately receive children only temporarily and in emergency, leaving the placing of all permanent child dependents to the Board of Children's Guardians.

8. In hospital work the minimum technical requirements for standard hospitals should be met. All the denominational hospitals should as rapidly as possible meet the conditions necessary to get on the accredited hospital list of the National College of Surgeons.

9. The over-small hospital is an inefficient unit when it attempts to do too wide a range of work. It is better for that hospital to specialize than to try to carry on general work with insufficient resources.

10. Day nurseries conducted as denominational philanthropies should be rigidly held up to the standards as to avoidance of crowding, medical attention, sanitation and safety. The current practice is not uniformly satisfactory on these points.

11. The denominational old people's homes serve a very great need, and the supply is not yet adequate. The philanthropic character of some of the homes is doubtful, in view of the large payment necessary for admission. It is the judgment of competent investigators that more freedom should be given the inmates of some of the homes, as to the financial resources which they turn over in exchange for their care. There should be a period of probation, within which the inmate may withdraw if dissatisfied; he should have some part of his income reserved for his individual spending, and there should be provision for permanently leaving the home, on terms just to both parties, in case of ultimate dissatisfaction.

XII. PROTESTANTISM AND COÖPERATION

A. General

The foregoing conclusions concerning the local churches and denominations are collectively the conclusions of the Survey with respect to Protestantism. A few rather generalized conclusions are, however, pertinent.

1. Protestantism conspicuously fails in St. Louis in that it has generally no systematic and efficacious method of transferring adherent children into full and responsible church membership without tremendous loss. A most serious aspect of the matter is that at present Protestantism has no means of knowing how extensive or serious the loss is. The Survey itself as conducted was unable to

secure adequate evidence on this subject. It is simply not known how far Sunday school children graduate into the church or become permanent adherents to some of its subsidiaries and how far they lapse.

It is recommended that the Church Federation secure at least typical records on this point for a series of years and possibly induce the denominations to adopt methods of adherent accounting which shall make the facts of this matter clear.

2. The average Protestant Church in St. Louis is a unit too small for the greatest efficiency, and for adequate community prestige. The hope of growing into large churches has led to the establishment of a great many small ones which in no human probability will now become large. These churches cannot afford adequate leadership, or supply satisfactory modern quality and variety of religious ministries to their members. The average size of the church unit is growing larger, but it is a grave question whether Protestantism does not need deliberately to mass its forces into more strategic units, before it can hope really to master its city problems.

3. The tendency of Protestant philanthropy to take institutional form, as over against the development of community-serving churches with broad social programs, is a one-sided tendency, strikingly characteristic of St. Louis. Partly because of historic tradition, its churches have enormous institutions, but only a small development of modern and typically developed community work. The strategy of united Protestantism should correct this lack of balance.

4. The tendency of the historically established and coöperative Protestant churches to ignore practically the large number of religious movements which are irregular and inchoate, and which stress what appear to the majority to be one-sided aspects of truth is not scientific. Whatever the practical or theological shortcomings of these irregular forces may be, they are a multitude in number, and are actually serving multitudes of people with such religion as they have. They represent religion in the making, and will gradually come more nearly to approximate the ordinary Protestant type. A sympathetic understanding of these wilder expressions of religion, a friendly approach to their leaders, and a real attempt to include them in the unified effort of Protestantism to improve standards and serve the community is highly desirable.

5. Regarding Protestantism in its total history and present force in St. Louis compels the question to be seriously raised whether its principle of religious freedom, as practiced in the past, has not cost too heavily. The Catholic Church seems to command adherents

in St. Louis beyond those which would naturally fall to it by reason of the nature of the population which has come through the years to make up the city. The foreign-born population on which the Catholic Church has usually relied for strength is relatively small in St. Louis except in the case of the German element, which has been at least as much Protestant as Catholic. The Survey is compelled to face the question why the Catholic Church is as strong as it is, and to answer, provisionally, at least, that its strength is probably due to its more effective strategy based on unified policies and direction.

6. It seems an inevitable impression, on the basis of the total survey and its interpretation, that the coöperative functions of the Protestant churches should be both more extensive and more commanding than they have been in the past. Most of the work which Protestantism is to do is still to be done through strictly denominational churches and agencies, functioning through denominational machinery in a coöperative program and with continuous mutual counsel, but the time and interest invested in the business of cooperation must be larger than in the past. It must bulk larger in the conviction and imagination, both of the leaders and of the churches, and as a consequence secure more adequate financial and institutional expression.

B. The Denominational Supervisory Agencies

1. The coöperation and acceptance of general policies by the denominations and their efficient promotion depends upon denominational central machineries, represented by city or district superintendents, city missionary societies, and the like. The necessary authority and financial backing to carry out any common city-wide policy properly depends upon these groups. The denominational supervisory agencies serving St. Louis should become responsible parts of the coördinated administrative forces of St. Louis and approach both denominational and coöperative problems from this viewpoint.

2. All recognized adaptations of church work, especially to meet the needs of poor districts, are dependent upon denominational action and support. Increasingly, however, the entire progress and standardization of denominational life in all classes of churches are coming to be related to denominational administrative processes. They are no longer limited to serving weaker churches along with missionary aid, but are increasingly giving direction to the whole programizing movement of their respective communions.

3. The principle of localized responsibility calls upon these de-

nominational central supervisory agencies to enter into the localized problems of the city with new intelligence and new coöperative loyalty.

4. Especially in the poorer districts, where local leadership is scant, any denominational supervisory agency at work must take its position among the responsible local forces. It must become intimately a part of each community in which it directs denominational work. It has time and ability to meet this requirement as single churches and individuals do not. Thoroughly organized and inclusive denominational control is, therefore, preferable to having missions or branches conducted at long range by uptown churches, or by private initiative.

5. It is highly desirable that there be a common system of districting the city for the purposes of denominational organization and administration, so that the several denominations may cooperate in service for the same areas, and in working out localized problems.

It is recommended that the Church Federation attempt to secure agreement on this point.

The principle of organizing with reference to geographical areas and of definite neighborhood responsibility finally brings the denominational supervisory agencies into contact with the non-denominational and civic forces of each neighborhood, together with its local churches of other than Protestant faith. It is highly important that the denominational central agencies reach a point of view in localized sympathy and understanding so that they may coöperate happily with all these forces in local districts.

6. The fellowship and mutual counsel of the denominational superintendents and city missionary boards already developed, and their formal association within the commission on Church Extension of the Federation makes it relatively easy to realize the above conclusions, and constitutes one of the most happy and forward-looking developments of common Protestant work in St. Louis.

7. This fact and habit of coöperation needs further application in connection with the larger need of reorganizing the Protestant philanthropies so as to constitute more nearly a system, and to meet the specific requirements of their respective classes of work.

C. The Church Federation

1. The Survey, in coöperating now for many months with the Church Federation, has had opportunity to study it far beyond the limits of formal investigation. The St. Louis Church Federation stands high in the world of Protestant coöperative achievements,

and is looked up to in other cities of the country, as well as at home, as a conspicuous example, both of the wide spirit and of practical success in doing common tasks in common.

2. The essential function of any Federation is that of securing the adoption of common plans in a spirit of fellowship, and of promoting such plans. The degree of executive responsibility it may exercise and the particular services which it may perform are variable. The function of thinking for the whole is essential.

3. From all practical standpoints it has been found to be desirable that the Church Federation undertake some specific functions as part of the common Protestant work. Those undertaken by the St. Louis Federation, such as street preaching, evangelism in industrial plants, and work in the Juvenile Courts, are justified by their own fruits, and are carried out with conspicuous ability.

There are certain specific functions, however, inherent in the fundamental idea of Church Federations as agencies for thinking in common, which have not been fully developed in the St. Louis Federation.

4. One of these is that of strict accounting for both the membership and the financial transactions of the St. Louis churches. There has been no sufficiently accurate statement and measurement of gains or losses upon which to build policies, nor any continuous and sufficiently established attempt to control policies by such accounting carried on throughout the years.

The function is so fundamental to religious engineering for the Protestant forces of the city that it is recommended that the Federation, within the resources now under its control, shall establish and carry out such a system of accounting.

5. It would seem evident again that a fundamental scientific duty of a Federation is to organize the current forward movements of the St. Louis churches and Protestant forces into laboratory experiments and to interpret their results for the benefit of all the churches of the city. Accurate studies and interpretations of them should be made, and their results generalized and promoted for the benefit of the entire Protestant body. They should finally receive such form as to be included in the curriculum of the Community Training School for Church School Workers.

It is recommended that the Federation undertake this as one of its continuous duties, that experiments which are to serve as laboratory tests for the entire city be carefully chosen, and the coöperation of the churches involved be secured in keeping such records that the results may be available to all.

6 The social and parish studies of the Survey seem to provide means for the more accurate understanding of the religious needs

of the city, particularly, with reference to church extension, and the allocation of responsibility for the work of socially adapted churches in the more needy parts of the city. It is recommended that the Church Federation undertake to carry on such studies as the basis for the work of its Commission on Church Extension, that it should if possible plan the creation and adaptation of churches to meet the needs of the entire city, and submit the plan to the united Protestant forces, rather than wait merely to referee proposals made on individual denominational initiative.

7. The needs of scientific accounting of laboratory experiments and of strategic location of agencies apply as well to the field of religious education and Sunday school work as to the church. It is recommended that religious education be included by the Federation in all these scientific objectives, and that when possible, a division of religious education with special technical leadership for such scientific studies be created.

8. It is recognized that the Federation is increasingly under the necessity of acting as an endorsing agency for the various Protestant agencies in their approach to the public. It is very important that blanket approval of Protestant effort should not be given where not warranted, but that rather a continuous scientific study of the needs of the whole city shall be the basis for such judgments as it may be necessary to make. This is particularly important in view of the fact that Protestant agencies may come to be included in the Community Chest or other city-wide method of appeal to the public for support. The freedom of the Federation, as the technical and official advisor of the public, to speak independently, as well as authoritatively, makes it immensely necessary that the Federation be in continuous possession of the facts.

9. The churches of the city are not federated when they have established a central Church Federation, carrying on common functions for them. They are not really federated until the principle of federation is actually applied in a more localized way to the churches of various sections and districts within the city.

10. The survey districts developed by the Federation indicate the type of subdivisions which should be made as a basis for localized district federation. As indicated in another connection, however, the districts need to be more carefully determined with reference to natural community boundaries.

11. It is recommended that such studies as may be necessary to district the city for the purpose of local federation be made by the Church Federation at an early date.

12. In establishing the district subdivisions it will be found that the Protestant churches of the city usually exist in clusters

and that these clusters frequently lie in sectors contiguous to some common civic center. The district areas chosen as the basis for the Federation should be sub-divided into neighborhoods, defined by natural population tendencies and the existence of such church clusters.

13. The work of the St. Louis Federation may then be, to a considerable degree, decentralized and committed for final execution to the churches comprising these district federations. Continued supervision, however, should be given by the respective denominational authorities, and by the Church Federation as the maker of common policies and the clearing house for common efforts.

14. The working out of such district federations should not be attempted on a city-wide scale until experiments have been made. The realization of the district federation plans, especially in the C and D districts where the social needs of poor populations have to be served, should, however, come as rapidly as possible.

It is recommended that the Church Federation at the earliest moment adopt the principle of district federation and establish federations experimentally in such districts as appear to be ready.

15. The extension of the practice of federation of the Negro churches of the city is immensely necessary, and the time is now.

16. The functions of such a federation should at the beginning be simple and should consist largely of coöperative activities, undertaken in a non-controversial field, in order that the habit of cooperation may be established through the years. Then it will be possible to undertake the more technical and difficult functions of economic strategy and interdenominational leadership.

17. In the development of a Negro church federation, the work of existing agencies which are well established should be jealously guarded. There is so little being done well that precautions should be taken not to imperil that little, even for the sake of objectives which in the long run are more desirable.

18. The Negro church federation should be related to the general federation in some definite way so as to secure the benefits of interracial fellowship and coöperative planning for the entire Protestant work of the city. The conspicuous success of such interracial movements in some of the southern cities, notably Atlanta, points the way for St. Louis.

D. Larger Coöperation

1. The general logic of the Survey would insist that the effective federation of Protestant forces must include all Protestant agencies and not merely the churches. The non-denominational and

inter-denominational expressions of Protestantism, founded in the days when coöperation was less developed and lacked effective machinery, should now be brought into a working scheme, fully representing the total Protestant movement in the city. The same necessity which rests upon the churches to coöperate more perfectly applies to the Y. M. and Y. W. C. A., and all similar forces, including those of organized Protestant womanhood.

2. The Survey throws no direct light upon the problem of still more inclusive coöperation, including the non-Protestant faiths and the civic forces of the cities. Such coöperation is implied, however, in the logic of the Federation principles and is expressed in the new community church experiments.

3. In local neighborhoods, however, the social and parish studies of the Survey seem to make it evident that some union of all civic and religious forces parallel with and in coöperation with each district federation of Protestant churches is most desirable. The face to face meeting of neighbors over common problems should enable them largely to obliterate all distinctions, such as Catholic, Hebrew or Protestant, and should unite all men of good will and all forces which are constructive in the solution of common human problems. The development of such neighborhood councils is primarily the responsibility of the social agencies expressing the underlying social intelligence of the city. District federation of churches should be established in harmony with and with reference to the most complete local coöperation with such councils. The spending of time together, the cementing of friendships, and the sharing of common work at close quarters and in the realm where differences are manifestly an impropriety will be the greatest school of an ultimate larger fellowship between sects, divisions and classes of mankind.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

Section I

SURVEY HISTORY

INTERCHURCH BEGINNINGS

The St. Louis Metropolitan Survey was originally undertaken early in 1920 by the Protestant churches of the city coöperating with the Church Federation as represented by its Commission on Comity.

Its work was in coöperation with and a part of the national survey project of the Interchurch World Movement under the general direction of George W. Hollingshead, D.D., City Director.

Arthur H. Armstrong, D.D., Secretary of the St. Louis Church Federation, was the Metropolitan Director, assisted by M. W. Krieger, Assistant Director, and Charlotte J. Schilling, office secretary.

The scope of the Survey, as first projected, was primarily a city-wide household religious canvass based on schedules prepared for national use by the Interchurch World Movement, together with an exhaustive investigation of the local Protestant churches and their work.

These methods were devised with specific reference to immediate programizing on the part of the local Protestant churches and denominations concerned.

Complete preliminary organization was effected during the late spring of 1920. The city was districted for survey purposes, and local pastors were put in charge of districts and subdivisions. The household canvass was completed over large areas of the city, most of the actual work being done by volunteers from the churches, but supplemented by a body of theological students and other employed canvassers. It was expected to complete the field work in June and July, 1920, and to have literary and editorial work under the direction of Dr. George B. Mangold, Ph.D., Director of the Missouri School of Social Economy, done by the fall of that year in order to serve as a basis of programizing for the active church year 1920-21.

The collapse of the Interchurch World Movement in July, 1920, left the Survey with an incomplete household canvass and little

other material actually returned. The St. Louis Federation, operating independently, carried forward the household canvass, undertook certain statistical compilations and summaries, and partially completed certain localized data. There was, however, a hiatus of virtually six months between the first phase of the Survey and the next.

COÖPERATION OF COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS SURVEYS

In January, 1921, the recently organized Committee on Social and Religious Surveys, through its Executive Secretary, Charles R. Watson, D.D., made overtures to the St. Louis Church Federation for the completion of the Survey. It was one of the purposes of the Committee, which is now the Institute of Social and Religious Research, to salvage some of the more valuable material gathered by the Interchurch World Movement surveys, and St. Louis was selected as the large city with the most valuable data available.

Upon recommendation of an informal conference of religious and social leaders held January 10, 1921, the Executive Committee of the Church Federation, in February, approved the proposed cooperative completion of the Survey. The arrangement was promptly confirmed by the Committee on Social and Religious Surveys. Active direction of the project in behalf of that Committee was in the hands of Miss Merle Higley, Acting Associate Director of City Surveys, up to November, 1922, while Secretary A. H. Armstrong continued as the St. Louis executive.

A national Advisory Committee of experts in problems relating to American cities was organized, consisting of the following:

Shelby Harrison, Director, Department of Surveys and Exhibits, Russell Sage Foundation.
Wayne D. Heydecker, Director of Research, American City Bureau.
John W. MacDowell, D.D., Chairman, Committee on Urban and Industrial Relations, Home Missions Council.
John M. Moore, D.D., Pastor Marcy Avenue Baptist Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.
William P. Shriver, D.D., Director, City and Immigrant Work, Presbyterian Board.
Miss Mary Sims, Executive Secretary, City Department, National Board, Young Women's Christian Association.
Worth M. Tippy, D.D., Executive Secretary, Social Service Commission, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.
Mrs. D. E. Waid, Chairman, Joint Standing Committee on New Americans of the Home Missions Council and the Council of Women.

This Advisory Committee assisted the executives in the formulation of the general survey program, especially in the definition of its objectives and the forecast of its promotional and publication plans.

Rev. Frank O. Beck, D.D., of the Garrett Biblical Institute of Chicago, became Field Director in charge of the technical survey

processes, assisted by Louis Bloch, statistician, Charlotte J. Schilling continuing as office secretary. Upon authorization of the Commission on Comity of the Church Federation, a joint Executive Committee representing the New York and St. Louis coöperating forces was constituted, consisting of Rev. A. H. Armstrong, D.D., Dr. George B. Mangold and Rev. George Wales King, in addition to the Associate Director of City Surveys and the Field Director. A large Advisory Committee, representing the social and religious forces of St. Louis, was organized to supplement the official machinery of the Federation.

The names of this Advisory Committee follow:

Rev. B. A. Abbott, D.D., Editor, Christian Evangelist.
Rev. R. E. Alexander, Second Christian Church.
Miss Grace Anderson, Municipal Nurses.
Rev. A. H. Armstrong, D.D., Executive Secretary, Church Federation of St. Louis.
Rev. Alfred Ray Atwood, Superintendent, Missouri Congregational Conference.
W. C. Ayer.
Harland Bartholomew, City Plan Commission.
Earle W. Beckman, Executive Secretary, St. Louis Council, Boy Scouts of America.
Philemon Bevis, Young Men's Christian Association.
Rev. Howard Billman, Associate Secretary, St. Louis Church Federation.
Rev. W. C. Bitting, D.D., Second Baptist Church.
Robert E. Bondy, Red Cross.
Paul W. Brown, Editor, *America at Work.*
Rev. George A. Campbell, D.D., Union Avenue Christian Church.
Rev. S. B. Campbell, D.D., District Superintendent, Methodist Episcopal Church.
W. S. Campbell, President, St. Louis Sunday School Association.
Mrs. W. R. Chivvis, Executive Secretary, Girls' Protective Association.
W. H. Davies.
Very Rev. Carroll M. Davis, D.D., Dean Christ Church Cathedral, Episcopal.
Scott R. DeKins, Chamber of Commerce.
Rev. R. Calvin Dobson, Executive Secretary, St. Louis Presbytery, U.S.A.
Rev. E. C. Dolbeer, Field Missionary, Illinois Synod, United Lutheran Churches of North America.
Mrs. Warren Drescher, Woman's Board of Religious Organizations.
Rev. S. E. Ewing, D.D., Superintendent, Baptist City Missions.
Mrs. J. J. Fisher, President, Young Women's Christian Association.
Rev. Thomas E. Greene, Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church.
Mrs. Frank V. Hammer.
Rev. C. Guenther, District Superintendent, German Methodist Episcopal Church.
W. Scott Hancock.
Rev. Marvin T. Haw, D.D., District Superintendent, Methodist Episcopal Church, South.
Rev. Ivan Lee Holt, D.D., St. John's Methodist Episcopal Church, South.
Rev. J. H. Horstmann, Editor, *Evangelical Herald.*
C. M. Hubbard, Provident Association.
E. R. Jasper.
Mrs. H. C. January, Central Council Social Agencies.
Bishop F. F. Johnson, D.D., Bishop Coadjutor of Missouri Episcopal Church.
Rev. William G. Johnston, Lillian Avenue Christian Church.

Rev. George Wales King, D.D., Markham Memorial Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.
Rev. A. L. Kooneke, D.D., District Superintendent Methodist Episcopal Church (German).
Rev. W. B. Lampe, D.D., West Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.
J. J. Maddox, Superintendent of Schools, St. Louis.
Rev. D. E. MacLeod, D.D., Central Presbyterian Church, U.S.
Rev. J. W. MacIvor, D.D., Second Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.
Miss Mary E. McChristie, Girls' Protective Association.
Miss Bessie A. McClenahan, Missouri School of Social Economy.
George B. Mangold, Ph.D., Missouri School of Social Economy.
Rev. J. P. Meyer, Bethel Evangelical Church.
Rev. A. J. Montgomery, D.D., Secretary, Church Extension Society, Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.
Deaconess Anna Grey Newell.
Harry M. Pflager.
Rev. Otto E. Press, Superintendent, Evangelical Church.
Major H. H. Simmons, Boy Scouts of America.
William M. Sloan.
Lansing F. Smith, St. Louis Sunday School Association.
Jesse Smith, Probation Officer, Juvenile Court.
Elwood Street, Secretary, St. Louis Community Council.
Rev. C. W. Tadlock, D.D., Centenary, Methodist Episcopal Church, South.
Rev. Carl Reed Taylor, Holy Cross House, Episcopal.
Miss Lillian Trusdell, Board Religious Organizations.
Rev. William E. Wheeler, St. Mark's United Lutheran Church.
Rev. J. J. Wilkins, Kirkwood Episcopal Church.
Rev. George B. Winton, Editor, *St. Louis Christian Advocate.*
Rev. Benjamin Young, D.D., Union Methodist Episcopal Church.

The agreement between the New York Committee and the St. Louis organization was definitely to the effect that no additional field work of a general nature would be undertaken, but that the existing material should be tabulated and edited; also that it should be supplemented by minor studies so as to give as rounded a form as possible to a survey which was confessedly and permanently incomplete owing to the breakdown of the original project.

The supplemental studies were largely concerned with data intended to explain the social background of the Survey so as to make localized programizing possible in the various districts of the city.

The Rev. A. C. Ernst was employed on part-time as field investigator. The Rev. Eugene Lawrence also gave limited services as special field investigator of Negro conditions and Henry A. White, local representative of the *Hobo News,* as investigator of migrant labor problems.

The tabulation of the household canvass cards and of elaborate church statistics compiled from denominational yearbooks by the St. Louis Federation was carried forward by a staff under Mr. Bloch's direction, Dr. Beck giving three days a week to the general supervision of the project.

In July, 1921, H. Paul Douglass, D.D., became Field Director to succeed Dr. Beck, who had resigned. Additional supplemental stud-

ies were undertaken, and the schedules for the survey of local churches and Sunday schools in a modified form, obtained from a representative number of churches, were statistically tabulated and summarized. The Rev. David N. Boswell, representing the department of City and Foreign-Speaking Missions of the Northern Baptist Convention, was attached to the Survey staff for two months in the fall of 1921, as an expression of the coöperation of his Board.

PROMOTIONAL PERIOD

In September, 1921, a formal meeting of the Advisory Committee was held to receive and approve findings of the Survey so far as completed. Twelve out of twenty projects then under way were reported upon in detail, criticized and approved for promotional use in the city by a special sub-committee on findings composed of Rev. S. E. Ewing, D.D., Lansing F. Smith, Mrs. W. R. Chivvis, Rev. Alfred Ray Atwood, D.D., S. B. Campbell.

Active promotional work continued during the fall of 1921 with formal presentations of findings to such bodies as the Ministerial Alliance, City Conference of Sunday School Superintendents, Community Training School for Church School Workers, employees of St. Louis Provident Association, students of the Missouri School of Social Economy and annual meeting of Women's Missionary Federation of St. Louis, as well as to various commissions of the Church Federation and official boards of the City Missionary Societies.

There were also numerous addresses by the Survey staff before church and missionary gatherings.

A formal Findings Conference, participated in by national experts and representatives of city departments of the larger denominations, together with the officials of all coöperating agencies in St. Louis, was held on October 13 and 14, at which time the virtually completed findings of the entire Survey were presented in charts and graphs, and discussed section by section as well as considered and reported upon by sub-committees.

From September 13 a series of ten district conferences was held in the most representative districts of the city, at which the findings of the Survey with respect to each district were presented to a representative local group consisting of principals and teachers, officials of charities and libraries, commercial leaders and responsible citizens. Additional conferences were held in several districts and the localized results of the Survey presented in maps, charts and formal statement.

Continuous newspaper publicity was obtained by the cordial coöperation of the St. Louis press, supplementing a series of popular reports in successive issues of the weekly Federation publication, *The Church at Work*.

PREPARATION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Since November 15, 1921, the literary condensation and formulation of the results of the Survey have been under way, the first draft of the manuscript being prepared by the Field Director. The section on denominational and other philanthropies followed very closely a manuscript prepared for the Survey by Dr. George B. Mangold, Director of the Missouri School of Social Economy, and was made part of the work of the Church Federation's Commission on Social Service of which he is Chairman. Extensive subsequent revision was participated in by numerous workers. Several chapters prepared by Miss Winifred Raushenbush gave basic direction to the final version. Extensive statistical verification and revision have been made by Miss H. C. Nutting, D. W. Sisson and Miss Helena M. Dickinson. The manuscript was then rewritten by the Field Director.

Arthur H. Richardson served as general advisor on graphics. They were executed under the direction of J. D. East. In the case of a number of graphs the form was suggested by Miss Winifred Raushenbush.

A findings committee with authority to pass on the manuscript in behalf of the St. Louis Survey organization was appointed in January, 1922, by the Local Advisory Committee. Successive versions of the manuscript have been submitted to this Committee for reading and approval and were modified in many details according to its suggestions. They are now presented with its general approval. The section specifically devoted to "Conclusions and Findings" has had the formal and definite approval of the St. Louis Findings Committee and expresses its judgment as to the meaning of the Survey for St. Louis and its detailed application in local programs.

PRACTICAL USE

The first values of the Survey were found in its immediate effect upon the participating St. Louis churches which obtained local parish data for current use. More permanent values lie in the fact that the Survey material is in constant use in the Church Federation office and constitutes a technical reference library of original source-material, which is having recurrent use by interested individuals and agencies.

Illustrations of the variety of concrete uses already made are the following:

(1) *Inspirational Value:* Large numbers of Christian leaders have expressed themselves publicly in such utterances as the following:

> The Survey reveals the growing greatness of St. Louis and shows how seriously the practical problems of civic, moral and spiritual welfare have

increased along with this more material growth. The facts set forth by the Survey should stir, not only the religious worker, but all who have the good of the city at heart. The problems presented are those not only of the Protestant church members, but also of all who would care to see St. Louis a good place to live and work in. I trust it will at least lead to closer coöperation between the different Protestant denominations, and social workers, both within and without all churches, Catholic and Protestant—N. B. Rhodes, pastor Grace M. E. Church.

(2) *Immediate Service to Local Churches:* Following upon the household visitation, the information tabulated from some 120,000 household canvass cards was summarized by denominations and sent to the pastors responsible for the various areas involved. Large numbers of additional names were added to parish rolls and there were frequent accessions to membership, but no systematic records were secured showing the exact utilization of the household canvass data by the several churches.

(3) *Recurrent Service to Local Churches and Agencies:* The June 17th, 1922, issue of *The Church at Work,* lists the activities in a typical week in a Church Federation Office. The list includes the following items:

Prepared a map of St. Louis, locating the Protestant churches in St. Louis, this for the use of the workers at the Bellefontaine Farms, in connecting discharged boys with neighboring churches.

Furnished maps and detailed parish and district information to a local church to be used in making an important report to a national board.

Furnished a set of seventeen district maps, giving detailed parish and district information to a downtown church, to be used in the planning of their work. A similar set of maps covering the Downtown District were made for Dean William Scarlett when he came recently to the leadership of Christ Church Cathedral, one of the churches exerting city wide influence.

This fairly illustrates the continuous local utilization of Survey material which may be said to constitute a new dialect of current information about the St. Louis religious situation.

(4) *Practical Use of Survey Districts:* It was the theory of the Survey that natural groups of churches in districts which had served as units of information should continue to make them units of practical coöperation. In an increasing number of districts the churches are making house to house visitations on New Year's Day, using a joint calling card bearing the names and addresses of all the churches in the district. This plan has been carried out for the second year.

(5) *Use in Development of Federation's Principles and Program:* The Rev. A. H. Armstrong, D.D., Executive Secretary of the St. Louis Church Federation, states that the principles of comity adopted and in use by the Commission on Comity of that organization, "have been modified and enlarged by the knowledge gained in the survey." These principles have been published and "are attracting wide attention."

The 1922 Open Air Campaign of the Church Federation in the downtown centers and city parks definitely announced itself as

based upon survey data. (*The Church at Work,* Vol. X, No. 20, page 78.)

(6) *Educational Use:* The Community Training School made the following announcement for its 1922 season: "Very strong new courses by Dr. George B. Mangold and associate leaders in the Church and the Community." "They will utilize the material of the St. Louis survey drawing upon the manuscript of Dr. Douglass' book."

(7) *Use by Local Social Agencies:* The Monday Club, composed of executives of social service organizations in St. Louis, adopted a suggestion of Secretary Arthur H. Armstrong, of the Church Federation, for the districting of Metropolitan St. Louis along neighborhood lines, based upon the Survey, and appointed a committee to perfect a method which could be adopted for common use.

A set of seventeen survey maps and charts was ordered by the new manager of the St. Louis Provident Association when he began his work as head of the city's greatest charity.

(8) *Denominational Use: The Church at Work,* Volume X, No. 1 (January 7, 1921) announced the appointment of a committee of three by the local Evangelical denomination and Home Missions Board of the Synod, to prepare a report based upon the St. Louis Survey for the use of the Evangelical pastors and leaders. The committee consisted of the Rev. A. C. Ernst, the Rev. Wm. Hackmann and the Rev. J. H. Horstmann, and was instructed to make denominational recommendations based upon their study.

The Rev. D. M. Boswell, of New York, representing the City and Foreign-Speaking Missions Department of the Northern Baptist Convention, spent two months attached to the Survey staff in order to study the methods used in the religious investigation of a large city in behalf of his board.

The 1922 Mid-Winter Conference of Congregational Secretaries held in Chicago included in its program a report by Secretary A. H. Armstrong on the Survey method and program as carried on in St. Louis.

The Survey Department of the Home Missions Board of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, submitted a five-year program to the St. Louis Commission on City Missions and Church Extension of its denomination based upon extensive information obtained from the Survey.

(9) *Use by Other Church Federations:* The 1922 annual meeting of Church Federation Secretaries held in Chicago gave large space on its program to reports of the methods used in the St. Louis Survey by the Field Director, H. Paul Douglass, and Secretary A. H. Armstrong. Numerous requests for information as to methods and results have been received from Church Federations both by the St. Louis Survey Office and by the headquarters office of the Committee on Social and Religious Surveys in New York.

(10) *Technical Use:* The results of the St. Louis Survey have been of large benefit to the Committee on Social and Religious Surveys in devising subsequent projects, especially the Survey of Springfield, Massachusetts, and the Study of One Thousand City Churches.

RENEWED PROMOTIONAL CAMPAIGN

The promotional use of survey results has thus been continuous from the beginning both through the public work of the Survey staff and through the current activities of the St. Louis Church Federation. Special measures looking to the utilization of these results in detail by all churches and coöperating forces of St. Louis have been made possible by the further financial coöperation of the Committee on Social and Religious Surveys arranged for by Galen M. Fisher, the present Executive Secretary. An extensive series of lantern slides is in process of completion, popularizing the Survey findings. This will be available for use in churches and by all interested bodies through the Church Federation which contemplates a systematic campaign of publicity and promotion.

Section II

RANKING OF SURVEY DISTRICTS

(See Chapter II, p. 48.)

METHOD OF RANKING

The method by which the rankings in Table XXXIX were calculated was as follows: For juvenile delinquency, poverty and tuberculosis mortality, the pertinent phenomena were simply located and mapped for the entire city and the number of cases falling in each district directly counted. Infant mortality and tuberculosis mortality data were secured from records in the city health department. The former were tabulated for the years 1913 and 1920, involving the handling of 3,500 birth and death certificates. Juvenile delinquency data were transcribed for a one-year period covering parts of 1919 and 1920 from the city court records, and the data on poverty and social maladjustment from the records of the St. Louis Provident Association for 1919. It was recognized that this was not as nearly adequate as though the Jewish charities and the Catholic St. Vincent de Paul cases had been included. It furnishes probably a fair index, however, of the distribution of poverty and social maladjustment throughout the city.

The period covered by each of the above lines of information was the year corresponding most nearly to the date of the Survey.

Total population, foreign-born population, Negro population, illiteracy, congestion, gain and loss in population and home ownership were reported by the 1920 Census by wards. In addition to this the Survey secured from Washington the total population by small enumeration precincts used in taking the census. Population of Survey districts was then easily secured simply by combining that of the precincts falling within the several districts. For each of the above-mentioned items used as social criteria the population reported by wards was assigned to the Survey districts falling within them in the same ratio as total population was found to be distributed. Slight modifications were then sometimes made, based upon specific information such as the extreme localization of a given foreign population in one district rather than another. For example, if 10 per cent. of the population of Ward 1 falls to District XX, then 10 per cent. of the foreign population and of the Negro population; 10 per cent. of the illiteracy and congestion are

TABLE XLIII.

RANKING OF SURVEY DISTRICTS BY ELEVEN SOCIAL CRITERIA

I		II		III			IV	
Foreign Born Population[1]		*Negro Population*[2]		*Illiteracy*[3]			*Juvenile Delinquency*[4]	
District	*Per Cent.*	*District*	*Per Cent.*	*District*	*Number*	*Per Cent.*	*District*	*Per Cent.*
III	22.3	IX	37.1	III	5,578	8.8	III	.32
II B	20.5	III	28.8	IX	1,904	3.1	IX	.26
II A	15.7	XIV	17.0	IV	1,275	3.0	II B	.25
XIX	14.9	XIII	12.1	II B	1,929	2.8	VI	.24
V	14.0	X A	10.1	XVIII	180	2.1	IV	.23
IV	13.9	VI	7.7	XIX	491	2.1	X B	.20
IX	13.8	X B	6.6	V	700	2.1	XIV	.19
XX	13.4	VIII	4.2	VI	86	1.9	XIII	.14
VI	13.2	IV	3.5	VII	92	1.9	I	.14
XVIII	13.1	XII	3.1	XX	212	1.8	II A	.13
I	12.8	II B	2.1	X A	570	1.7	XV	.12
VII	12.6	I	2.1	XIII	308	1.5	V	.11
VIII	12.0	XVIII	1.8	XIV	1,103	1.5	VII	.11
X B	11.6	XVII	1.6	X B	333	1.5	XVIII	.10
XI B	11.6	XV	1.3	XVI	595	1.2	XVI	.08
XIV	11.1	V	1.0	I	431	1.1	VIII	.08
XV	11.1	XIX	0.9	VIII	612	1.1	XII	.07
X A	10.7	XVI	0.6	XII	275	1.1	XVII	.04
XIII	10.5	II A	0.6	XV	144	1.0	XI B	.04
XII	10.1	VII	0.5	II A	186	0.9	X A	.04
XI A	9.0	XX	0.3	XI A	148	0.8	XIX	.03
XVII	9.0	XI A	0.2	XI B	251	0.8	XX	.03
XVI	7.8	XI B	0.1	XVII	231	0.4	XI A	.03

[1] 1920 Census calculated by districts.

[2] 1920 Census calculated by districts.

[3] 1920 Census calculated by districts for population ten years old and over.

[4] Compiled from Juvenile Court records, 1919-1920.

RANKING OF SURVEY DISTRICTS BY ELEVEN SOCIAL CRITERIA
(Continued)

V	*VI*				*VII*		*VIII*		
Industrialization[5]	*Gain or Loss of Population*[6]				*Congestion*[7]		*Home Ownership*		
District	*District*	*Number*		*Per Cent.*	*District*	*Per Cent.*	*District*	*No.*	*Per Cent.*[8]
III	III	Loss	18,685	29.3	III	2.0	III	512	0.8
VI	II B	"	10,959	15.8	II B	1.9	IX	1,698	2.8
II B	IV	"	2,627	6.2	IV	1.9	IV	1,264	2.9
IX	V	"	421	1.3	II A	1.8	II B	2,131	3.1
IV	II A	Gain	66	0.3	V	1.7	X B	973	4.6
XIII	X B	"	1,548	5.7	IX	1.7	XIV	3,338	4.7
VII	IX	"	3,726	6.1	XVII	1.7	XIII	973	4.7
V	XIII	"	2,175	10.6	X A	1.6	X A	1,865	5.5
I	X A	"	3,675	10.8	X B	1.6	XVII	3,218	5.8
XIV	XIV	"	10,972	15.4	XI B	1.6	V	1,946	5.9
VIII	I	"	6,685	18.0	VI	1.5	II A	1,277	6.6
X B	VII	"	900	18.5	VII	1.5	VI	318	7.0
XV	VI	"	900	19.8	VIII	1.5	VII	336	7.0
X A	VIII	"	11,961	21.1	XII	1.5	VIII	4,274	7.5
II A	XVI	"	12,216	25.2	XIII	1.5	XI B	2,399	8.5
XIX	XVIII	"	2,470	28.8	XIV	1.5	XII	2,221	8.9
XX	XI B	"	6,510	29.1	XI A	1.4	XVI	4,491	9.3
XVIII	XIX	"	6,906	30.2	I	1.3	XVIII	814	9.5
XII	XV	"	4,800	33.4	XVI	1.3	XIX	2,202	9.6
XI A	XII	"	9,680	38.7	XV	1.2	XI A	1,779	9.9
XI B	XVII	"	21,639	39.2	XVIII	1.2	XX	1,203	10.2
XVI	XI A	"	7,500	41.8	XIX	1.2	I	3,942	10.4
XVII	XX	"	5,125	43.0	XX	1.2	XV	1,534	10.7

[5] Based on City Plan Commission data.

[6] Calculated by districts from 1920 Census.

[7] Families per dwelling calculated from 1920 Census.

[8] Homes owned per 100 population, 1920.

RANKING OF SURVEY DISTRICTS BY ELEVEN SOCIAL CRITERIA
(Continued)

IX		*X*		*XI*			*Final Ranking by Combined Criteria*		
Infant Mortality[9]		*Poverty*[10]		*Tuberculosis Mortality*[11]					
District	*Per Cent.*	*District*	*Per Cent.*	*District*	*Cases*	*Per Cent.*	*District*	*Rank*	*Class*
III	12.1	III	.73	VI	12	.26	III	23	.....
II B	11.2	XIII	.58	III	106	.16	II B	22	.....
IX	10.3	IX	.54	II A	31	.15	XI	21	.....
VI	10.1	II B	.51	IX	82	.13	IV	20	.....
XIII	10.0	IV	.37	II B	90	.12	VI	19	.....
IV	9.0	XVIII	.35	XIV	80	.11	XIV	17	.....
XIX	8.4	X B	.34	X A	32	.09	V	17	.....
V	8.1	VI	.30	IV	37	.08	XIII	16	.....
XX	8.0	V	.25	XIII	18	.08	X B	15	.....
X A	7.9	XIV	.24	XVI	39	.08	II A	14	.....
XIV	7.3	II A	.17	X B	14	.07	X A	12	.....
XI B	6.9	VII	.16	VII	3	.06	VII	12	.....
XVI	6.6	I	.15	VIII	38	.06	VIII	11	.....
X B	6.4	XV	.12	XV	10	.06	I	10	.....
XII	6.1	XII	.11	XIX	14	.06	XIX	9	.....
VII	5.9	VIII	.10	I	23	.06	XVIII	8	.....
VIII	5.8	X A	.08	XI B	15	.05	XII	6	.....
II A	5.6	XIX	.08	V	18	.05	XX	6	.....
XV	5.2	XVI	.07	XII	14	.05	XV	5	.....
I	5.1	XI B	.04	XVIII	5	.05	XI B	4	.....
XVIII	4.3	XX	.03	XX	7	.05	XVI	2	.....
XVII	4.2	XI A	.03	XI A	8	.04	XVII	2	.....
XI A	3.3	XVII	.01	XVII	22	.03	XI A	1	.....

[9] Per cent. of livebirthsdying under one year compiled from City records, 1920.

[10] Provident Association cases, 1919-20.

[11] Compiled from City records, 1920.

assigned to District XX—unless the detailed field studies of the Survey show specific reason to the contrary. The result with respect to these factors is, therefore, an estimate of their relative occurrence in each district—but a highly reliable estimate.

With respect to the degree of industrialization of the several districts, a judgment had to be resorted to, rather than a calculation. The Zoning Ordinance divides the city into use districts as follows:

1. Those open to all industries.
2. Those open to industry which does not constitute a nuisance.
3. Those open to retail business.
4. Those open to residential use only.

The area of each district open to and actually occupied by structures devoted to these various types of use has been mapped by the City Plan Commission.

While, therefore, the percentage of any district actually industrialized is easily discovered, another factor remains, namely, that of the distribution of industries. District XIV, for example, is in the main protected from future incursion of industry and is not actually occupied by concentrated industries at any point; neither is a large part of its area occupied by industries. It has, however, many small industries so scattered throughout its area that the district as a whole is seriously impaired from the standpoint of desirable residence. It must, therefore, be judged more highly industrialized from the social standpoint than another district might be with more industries, but more concentrated ones. The estimates of the Survey are a result of a balance of these various factors carefully checked by field observation.

In the preceding table each district is ranked on the eleven points above enumerated, by percentage, except in the case of industrialization, as just explained.

Section III

METHOD OF COMPUTING NUMBER AND DISTRIBUTION OF ADHERENTS BY RELIGIOUS FAITHS

(See Chapter I, p. 49.)

PROTESTANT

The household canvass of 74,371 Protestant individuals of thirteen years old and over established the fact that there are forty-three other acknowledged religious adherents to Protestantism for every fifty-seven white church members and thirty-three for every sixty-seven Negro church members. Increasing the known membership of the Protestant church in 1921 (93,671) by these ratios and adding 22 per cent. as the proportion for children under thirteen as established by the age-tables of the census, gives the following results which are the basis of the text:

Class		*Per cent.*	*Number*		*Total*
White Adherents					
Over 13 Yrs.	Members	57	93,671		
	Attend	23	37,797		
	Prefer	20	32,867		
				164,335	
Under 13 Yrs.				46,334	
					210,669
Negro Adherents					
Over 13 Yrs.	Members	67	29,921		
	Attend	20	8,932		
	Prefer	13	5,805		
				44,658	
Under 13 Yrs.				12,594	
					57,252
Total					267,921

Two considerations influence the validity of the result. First, Protestant adherents as discovered by the household canvass included persons belonging to churches outside of St. Louis as well as to churches in St. Louis. On the other hand, the St. Louis churches reported as members a considerable non-residence mem-

bership. These two items may be assumed to balance each other, and if so the results of the calculation give the size and the actually adherent Protestant group with considerable accuracy.

CATHOLICS

The 1916 report of the United States Census of Religious Bodies gives the St. Louis Catholic membership as 245,618 in 1906 and 281,627 in 1916, a gain of 14.6 per cent. in the decade. Assuming that the same rate of increase continued to 1921, the total Catholic population on that date would have been 302,270 as estimated in the text.

The Roman Catholic returns show 25 per cent. of "members" under thirteen years of age; and are interpreted by the census as including the total Catholic population. (Census of Religious Bodies, Part I, page 38.) This is virtually the same method as that used in estimating Protestant adherents in the previous paragraph. Large average Catholic families may be assumed and justify taking 25 per cent. as the basis for estimating Catholic children under thirteen years of age.

HEBREWS

The reporting synagogues frequently gave two sets of figures, one of "members" consisting of heads of households, and another for total "souls" belonging to the congregation. The ratio between them averaged one to four; applying which ratio to 5,036 reported members, gives approximately the 20,000 adherents estimated in the text.

4. Greek Orthodox membership was estimated on the basis of known churches and 1916 census of Religious Bodies.

Section IV

THE HOUSEHOLD CANVASS

(See Chapter II, p. 54, and Chapter IV, p. 83.)

PLAN

The metropolitan church survey of the St. Louis Church Federation coöperating with the Interchurch World Movement undertook to make the largest possible religious canvass of the city. A preliminary survey of a single district (District VIII) was undertaken in order to work out a method. The city was districted and the larger canvass was carried out through paid district secretaries who recruited volunteers from the various coöperating churches.

An attempt was made to get Roman Catholic and Hebrew cooperation but was not practically successful and no considerable use of the results was made by representatives of these faiths.

EXTENT OF PROTESTANT COÖPERATION

In the actual work of the canvass, only about 80 Protestant churches finally coöperated. No exact record was kept of the number of individual canvassers employed but it was locally estimated at 2,500. The reason for such limited coöperation was the fact that not all the denominations were formally in the Church Federation and some that were, were not in full sympathy with the Interchurch World Movement. Districts also varied according to local leadership and the number of volunteer workers.

PREPARATION

Besides brief printed directions, district training conferences for canvassers were proposed for all districts; but no exact records were kept showing the actual degree to which the plan was carried out. Certain districts held two training conferences before the canvass. In others individual churches held group meetings and explained the method of the work. It simply is not known how much preliminary training any of the volunteers had or how many had none at all.

The canvass was not simultaneous. It was carried out district by district through the late spring and early summer of 1920. Paid workers, largely students from Eden Theological Seminary, were finally used for clean-up work in special districts especially those judged most strategic. They covered approximately 200 out of the

TABLE XLIV—NUMBER OF BLOCKS IN WHICH HOUSEHOLD INFORMATION WAS SECURED; NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS VISITED AND NUMBER AND PER CENT. FOR WHICH INFORMATION WAS SECURED; ESTIMATED 1920 POPULATION IN EACH DISTRICT; AND NUMBER AND ESTIMATED PER CENT. OF INDIVIDUALS FOR WHOM INFORMATION WAS SECURED IN THE ST. LOUIS SURVEY, BY DISTRICTS, 1919-1920.

Districts	*Number of Blocks in Which Household Information was Secured*	*Households Visited*	*Households for Which Information Was Secured*		*Population*			*Individuals for Whom Information Was Secured*			
			Number	*Per Cent. of Households Covered*	*Total Estimated 1920*	*Estimated 13 Years of Age and Over*	*Estimated Under 24 Years of Age*	*13 Years of Age and Over*	*Per Cent. of Estimated 13 Years and Over*	*Under 24 Years of Age*	*Per Cent. of Estimated Under 24 Years of Age*
Total	1,978[1]	83,125	70,426	84.7	706,175[3]	515,506	346,025	195,409	37.9	61,195	17.7
I Carondelet	120	2,094	1,820	86.9	37,879	27,652	18,561	5,496	19.9	2,414	13.0
II B So. Jefferson	110	3,680	3,116	84.7	68,379	49,927	33,506	5,694	11.4	1,012	3.5
III Down Town	56	1,574	1,471	93.5	65,658	47,930	32,172	2,964	6.2	887	2.8
IV East No. Market	185	8,386	7,059	84.2	38,917	28,409	19,069	19,058	67.1	8,887	46.6
V Hyde Park	113	3,983	3,625	91.0	33,186	24,226	16,261	8,243	34.0	3,471	21.3
VIII Fair Grounds	262	11,337	9,072	80.0	57,811	42,202	28,327	25,771	61.1	9,193	32.5
IX East Central	97	4,007	3,108	77.6	60,633	44,262	29,710	8,428	19.0	3,345	11.2
X A Lafayette	164	6,334	5,623	88.8	35,940	26,236	17,611	17,339	66.1	2,876	16.3
X B Compton	32	1,617	1,426	88.2	20,004	14,603	9,802	3,588	24.6	1,334	13.6
XI A Gravois	91	4,086	3,354	82.1	17,584	12,836	8,616	9,312	72.5	2,455	28.4
XI B Gravois	130	5,798	5,021	86.6	26,133	19,077	12,805	13,091	68.6	4,414	34.5
XII Tower Grove	67	3,553	2,566	72.2	24,772	18,084	12,138	6,962	38.5	1,652	13.6
XVI Central	69	4,005	3,103	77.5	69,281	50,575	33,948	8,622	17.0	2,780	8.2
XV Horney Heights	33	663	558	84.2	14,449	10,548	7,080	1,887	17.9	878	12.4
XVI Arlington	170	8,843	7,641	86.4	48,740	35,580	23,883	24,042	67.6	7,386	30.9
XVII West End	154	8,752	7,809	89.2	53,505	39,059	26,217	23,683	60.6	4,072	15.5
XVIII Manchester	32	741	655	88.4	13,468	9,832	6,599	1,953	19.9	878	13.3
XIX S. West Ave.	52	1,370	1,278	93.3	19,834	14,479	9,719	4,029	27.8	1,919	19.7
University City	41	527	471	89.4	.....	.....	.....	1,470	.....	498	.....
Colored—City Wide	123[2]	1,775	1,650	93.0	.....	.....	.....	3,777	.....	844	.....

[1] Colored blocks were not included in this total to avoid duplication.

[2] Colored households were visited in 123 blocks scattered in all districts but principally in Districts I, XA, XIII, XIV and XV.

[3] Total population for all districts, including districts IIA, VI, VII and XIII, is 755,271, or 17,626 persons less than is shown for St. Louis by the U. S. Census of 1920. This discrepancy is due to the fact that the survey districts do not coincide with the census enumeration tracts.

nearly 2,000 blocks surveyed and their work proved much more accurate than that of the volunteers.

EXTENT OF CANVASS

The numerical and geographical extent of the entire canvass is shown for the city as a whole and for special districts in Table XLIV.

About one-third of the total area of the city was covered as well as forty-one blocks in the adjoining suburb, University City. Later 66 per cent. of the population of Webster Groves was canvassed on identical schedules. In five districts out of twenty-three into which the city was divided no canvass was made.

The household canvass of Negro religious relationships was limited to 123 blocks separately enumerated.

One hundred and ninety-five thousand, four hundred and nine persons estimated at thirteen years of age and over were canvassed, this being 37.9 per cent. of the total population of that age. Sixty-one thousand, one hundred and ninety-five individuals under twenty-four years of age were canvassed as to their Sunday school relationships, this being 17.7 per cent. of the total population estimated as of that age. The basis of the above estimates is the assumption that all Protestants reported as church members were over thirteen years of age. The basis for this assumption was a limited number of cases for which age was reported.

SCHEDULE

The schedule card for the household canvass, as prepared by the Interchurch World Movement, was not ready for circulation when the preliminary canvass was made in St. Louis. A substitute card was therefore devised locally and it was not thought desirable to change to the Interchurch form when it appeared later. The two cards are reproduced on pages 290 and 291.

The St. Louis card was much the simpler. It omitted such obvious points as race and was not specific as to faith, denomination and individual church. Race was determined by the simple expedient of doing the canvass of Negro households at a separate time. Sex of children was also not clearly expressed. But brief as it was the St. Louis card was too long for the use of such canvassers as were available.

LIMITATIONS OF THE CANVASS

In practice it was found that the canvassers generally stopped when they had determined the faith of a Catholic or Jewish household. Frequently, further information was refused but the limitation was, on the whole, in the mental attitude of the canvasser. His objective was practical, namely; to find prospects for Protestant

11 HOUSEHOLD VISITATION METROPOLITAN CHURCH SURVEY OF ST LOUIS 1920 THE CHURCH FEDERATION

HOUSE / FLAT NO / OWNER	FRONT / FRONT / TENANT	REAR / REAR	NO.	ST.	WARD NO. / ENUMERATION DISTRICT NO. (U.S. CENSUS 1920)
FAMILY NAME			CHURCH		SURVEY DISTRICT NO / BLOCK NO

ADULTS – TITLE AND INITIAL 24 YEARS OF AGE OR OVER		OCCUPATION	MEMBER	ATTENDS	PREFERS	SUNDAY SCHOOL
FATHER						
MOTHER						
RELATIVE						
CHILDREN OVER 24 YRS						
CHILDREN UNDER 24 YRS	AGE					
ROOMER						
SERVANT						

INTERCHURCH WORLD MOVEMENT

HOUSEHOLD SURVEY CARD

CITY | STATE | STREET AVENUE | HOUSE NO | DIST. NO | BLOCK NO

1 DESCRIPTION OF DWELLING	DETACHED	ONE FAMILY	TENEMENT	HOTEL	FLOOR	FRONT	EAST	NORTH
	ADJOINING	TWO FAMILY	APARTMENT	ROOMING	BASEMENT	REAR	WEST	SOUTH
2 FAMILY NAME			WHITE / NEGRO	OTHER COLOR	LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN HOUSE / NEIGHBORHOOD		3 LANGUAGE OF MOTHER	

4 ADULTS 24 YEARS OF AGE OR OVER TITLE AND INITIAL	5 WHAT FAITH	6 MEMBER WHAT CHURCH	7 CHURCH OFFICIAL	8 ATTEND WHAT(A) CHURCH PREFERENCE (P)	9 ATTEND WHAT SUNDAY SCHOOL	10 WAR SERVICE (Check)	11 WHERE BORN: U.S. CITY	U.S. RURAL	OTHER COUNTRY (GIVE NAME)	12 No. YRS IN U.S.	13 OCCUPATION OR IN SCHOOL	14 MEMBER UNION
FATHER												
MOTHER												
RELATIVE												
CHILDREN OVER 20 YEARS OF AGE												

CHILDREN UNDER 20 YRS	AGE	DATE OF BIRTH										
ROOMER												
EMPLOYEE												

REPORT REQUESTS, INCIDENTS OF INTEREST ETC. ON REVERSE SIDE · DATE · SIGNED CAPTAINS O.K.

No. 259, III. 3000. DEC. 1919.

REPORT OF BLOCK NO.....

	Church				*Sunday School*	
					Children Under 24	
	Mem.	*Att.*	*Pref.*	*Total*	*in S. S.*	*out S. S.*
Presby.						
Bapt.						
Meth.						
Cong'l						
Disc. of Chris.						
Episc.						
Evang.						
Advent.						
Chris. Luth.						
Other Denom.						
No Pref.						
Total						
Catholic						
Jew						

GRAND TOTAL.....
(Individuals)

No. of Households in Block.....
(Simply count your cards)

church work, and he felt too hurried to follow up in detail the question of individual religious relations of non-Protestants. The denominational connection and character of local church relationship were commonly secured and whether or not the individual was enrolled in the Sunday school. The item as to age of children under twenty-four was poorly secured, only 13,377 age-entries being made for the 61,395 of this age-group from whom individual information was secured.

Not enough information as to housing, home tenure, occupation, sex or interrelation of family group was secured to warrant tabulation.

TABULATION

The original tabulation of the schedules on the household canvass was made for each block visited by the Church Federation during the period of independent continuance of the survey. An average of ten to twelve girls were employed for a period of two months. The form on page 292 was used.

STATISTICAL USE

When the Committee on Social and Religious Surveys undertook to utilize the St. Louis data, its statistician, Mr. Louis Bloch, accepted the summaries prepared by the Church Federation tabulators for each block canvassed after proper verification. The basic tables resulting from the canvass as prepared by Mr. Bloch follow this section in the Appendix. Their preparation, with derivative tables, involved the labor of four statistical clerks for four months following April, 1920.

INTERPRETATIVE USE

The obvious Protestant bias of the Survey and the confessed fact that Catholic and Hebrew individuals were not carefully enumerated after the faith of the family had been determined made it impossible to use the survey findings to determine the ratios to population of the several faiths. These deficiencies, in the judgment of the statistician, constituted "a cumulative mistake which resulted in an understatement of fact as to the strength of Catholicism." Consequently the method explained on page 284 had to be resorted to on this point.

The canvass, however, was judged reliable as to distribution of Protestants by districts and so between the several denominations; also as indicating the character of their church relationship as well as Sunday school attendance or non-attendance. The age distribution of Protestant Sunday school pupils was also accepted on the basis of the limited number of cases. On these points the household canvass is the basis of judgment in the text of this volume.

Tables covering these points follow:

TABLE XLV—NUMBER AND PER CENT. DISTRIBUTION, ACCORDING TO SPECIFIED PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONS, OF PERSONS 13 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER FOR WHOM INFORMATION WAS SECURED, IN THE CITY OF ST. LOUIS, BY DISTRICTS, 1919-1920

	DISTRICTS																			
	Total		*I*		*II B*		*IV*		*V*		*VIII*		*IX*		*X A*		*X B*		*XI A*	
	No.	*P.C.*	*No.*	*P.C.*	*No.*	*P.C.*	*No.*	*P.C.*	*No.*	*P.C.*	*No.*	*P.C.*	*No.*	*P.C.*	*No.*	*P.C.*	*No.*	*P.C.*	*No.*	*P.C.*
Specified Protes. Denominations	74,374	100	2,323	100	2,044	100	7,206	100	4,033	100	10,627	100	2,858	100	6,194	100	1,604	100	3,825	100
Adventist	47	0	1	0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	17	0	2	0	1	0	.....	.....	.....	.....
Baptist	8,109	11	171	7	265	13	710	10	317	8	861	8	584	20	775	13	231	14	208	6
Congregational	2,477	3	4	0	74	4	30	0	127	3	197	2	49	2	207	3	31	2	52	1
Disciples of Christ	3,591	5	181	8	.....	.....	257	3	192	5	331	3	126	5	320	5	73	5	78	2
Episcopal	5,428	7	105	5	33	2	270	4	133	3	384	4	121	4	347	6	100	6	462	12
Evangelical	14,807	20	577	25	861	42	2,295	32	1,543	38	3,584	34	404	14	958	15	260	16	733	19
Lutheran	13,813	19	455	20	383	19	1,812	25	1,119	28	2,465	23	619	22	1,487	24	307	19	903	24
Methodist	13,263	18	326	14	210	10	1,336	19	431	11	1,619	15	684	24	960	16	360	23	432	11
Presbyterian	12,839	17	503	21	218	10	496	7	171	4	1,169	11	269	9	1,139	18	242	15	957	25

TABLE XLV—NUMBER AND PER CENT. DISTRIBUTION, ACCORDING TO SPECIFIED PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONS, OF PERSONS 13 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER FOR WHOM INFORMATION WAS SECURED, IN THE CITY OF ST. LOUIS, BY DISTRICTS, 1919-1920—(Continued)

	DISTRICTS																	
	XI B		XII		XIV		XV		XVI		XVII		XVIII		XIX		Univ. City	
	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.
Specified Protestant Denominations	5,294	100	3,087	100	2,542	100	664	100	8,309	100	10,837	100	786	100	1,299	100	842	100
Adventist	----	----	----	----	2	0	13	2	6	0	5	0	----	----	----	----	----	----
Baptist	216	4	411	13	407	16	68	10	1,309	16	1,275	12	65	8	145	11	91	11
Congregational	40	1	83	3	55	2	6	1	478	6	747	7	80	10	178	14	39	5
Disciples of Christ	76	1	184	6	174	7	31	5	630	8	759	7	54	7	86	7	39	5
Episcopal	167	3	274	9	168	7	18	3	544	7	1,970	18	89	11	100	8	143	17
Evangelical	1,565	30	167	5	253	10	249	37	898	10	184	2	83	11	153	12	40	5
Lutheran	1,687	32	273	9	314	12	119	18	1,103	13	460	4	100	13	168	13	39	4
Methodist	369	7	941	31	857	34	64	10	1,662	20	2,246	21	148	19	357	28	261	31
Presbyterian	1,174	22	754	24	312	12	96	14	1,679	20	3,191	29	167	21	112	7	190	22

TABLE XLVI—NUMBER AND PER CENT. DISTRIBUTION OF ALL PROTESTANT PERSONS 13 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER FOR WHOM INFORMATION WAS SECURED ACCORDING TO CHURCH MEMBERSHIP, CHURCH ATTENDANCE OR CHURCH PREFERENCES BY DISTRICTS AND DENOMINATIONS, 1919-1920.

Districts	SPECIFIED PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONS																				Other Denominations	
	Total		Adventist		Baptist		Congregational		Disciples of Christ		Episcopal		Evangelical		Lutheran		Methodist		Presbyterian			
	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.
All Districts	74,574	100	47	100	8,109	100	2,477	100	3,591	100	5,428	100	14,807	100	13,813	100	13,263	100	12,839	100	8,306	100
Members	42,378	57	12	26	4,596	57	1,464	59	2,280	63	3,721	68	7,739	52	8,135	59	7,693	58	6,738	52	3,776	45
Attend	17,277	23	28	59	1,825	22	601	24	715	20	918	17	4,370	30	2,920	21	2,589	20	3,311	26	2,254	27
Prefer	14,719	20	7	15	1,688	21	412	17	596	17	789	15	2,698	18	2,758	20	2,981	22	2,790	22	2,276	28
I. Carondelet	2,323	100	1	.....	171	100	4	.....	181	100	105	100	577	100	455	100	326	100	503	100	176	100
Members	1,040	45	.....	.....	92	54	2	.....	70	39	59	56	196	34	246	54	165	51	210	42	65	37
Attend	798	34	.....	.....	47	27	.....	.....	77	42	27	26	257	44	125	28	84	26	181	36	89	51
Prefer	485	21	1	.....	32	19	2	.....	34	19	19	18	124	22	84	18	77	23	112	22	22	12
II B. South Jefferson	2,044	100	.....	.....	265	100	74	100	.....	.....	35	100	861	100	383	100	210	100	218	100	212	100
Members	1,156	57	.....	.....	177	67	44	59	.....	.....	28	85	422	49	254	66	117	56	114	52	102	48
Attend	475	23	.....	.....	46	17	20	27	.....	.....	2	6	254	30	80	21	28	13	45	21	77	36
Prefer	413	20	.....	.....	42	16	10	14	.....	.....	3	9	185	21	49	13	65	31	59	27	35	16
IV East North Central	7,206	100	.....	.....	710	100	30	.....	257	100	270	100	2,295	100	1,812	100	1,336	100	496	100	609	100
Members	4,181	58	.....	.....	352	50	17	57	118	46	175	65	1,573	60	1,225	68	689	52	232	47	320	52
Attend	1,637	23	.....	.....	142	20	8	27	69	27	55	20	671	29	341	19	241	18	110	22	175	29
Prefer	1,388	19	.....	.....	216	30	5	16	70	27	40	15	251	11	246	13	406	30	154	31	114	19

V Hyde Park	4,033	100			317		127	100	192	100	133	100	1,543	100	1,119	100	431	100	171	100	293	100
Members	1,971	49			149	47	36	28	74	38	75	57	737	48	630	56	211	49	59	35	132	45
Attend	1,323	33			71	22	67	53	55	29	34	25	588	38	325	29	114	26	69	40	101	34
Prefer	739	18			97	31	24	19	63	33	24	18	218	14	164	15	106	25	43	25	60	21
VIII Fair Gds.	10,627	100	17		861	100	197	100	331	100	384	100	3,584	100	2,465	100	1,619	100	1,169	100	1,000	100
Members	6,059	57	4	23	503	58	98	50	214	65	216	56	1,996	56	1,524	62	926	57	578	49	468	47
Attend	2,848	27	9	53	207	24	50	25	58	17	91	24	1,121	31	602	24	361	22	349	30	282	28
Prefer	1,720	16	4	24	151	18	49	25	59	18	77	20	467	13	339	14	332	21	242	21	250	25
IX E. Central	2,858	100	2		584	100	49		126	100	121	100	404	100	619	100	684	100	269	100	309	100
Members	1,858	65	1		370	64	31	63	77	61	101	83	245	61	422	68	448	66	163	61	195	63
Attend	556	19	1		101	17	7	14	26	21	13	11	132	33	120	19	101	15	55	20	68	22
Prefer	444	16			113	19	11	23	23	18	7	6	27	6	77	13	135	19	51	19	46	15
X A Lafayette	6,194	100	1		775	100	207	100	320	100	347	100	958	100	1,487	100	960	100	1,139	100	861	100
Members	2,021	33			340	44	60	29	163	51	160	46	262	27	377	25	369	38	290	25	194	22
Attend	1,047	17			180	23	60	29	66	21	46	13	97	10	132	9	162	17	304	27	113	13
Prefer	3,126	50	1		255	33	87	42	91	28	141	41	599	63	978	66	429	45	545	48	554	65
X B Compton	1,604	100			231	100	31		73		100	100	260	100	307	100	360	100	242	100	111	100
Members	1,001	62			114	49	16	52	52	71	82	82	161	61	211	69	210	59	155	64	61	55
Attend	322	20			65	28	7	23	4	6	4	4	72	29	63	20	73	20	34	14	26	23
Prefer	281	18			52	23	8	25	17	23	14	14	27	10	33	11	77	21	53	22	24	22
XI A Gravois	3,825	100			208	100	52		78		462	100	733	100	903	100	432	100	957	100	650	100
Members	2,339	61			139	67	30	58	50	64	343	74	445	61	645	72	266	62	421	44	347	53
Attend	856	22			44	21	15	28	18	23	64	14	160	22	148	16	92	21	315	33	188	29
Prefer	630	17			25	12	7	14	10	13	55	12	128	17	110	12	74	17	221	23	115	18
XI B Gravois	5,294	100			216	100	40		76		167	100	1,565	100	1,687	100	369	100	1,174	100	684	100
Members	2,274	43			76	35	20	50	47	61	91	55	605	39	903	54	195	53	337	29	216	32
Attend	1,781	34			69	32	9	23	17	23	37	22	582	37	507	30	84	23	476	40	280	41
Prefer	1,239	23			71	33	11	27	12	16	39	23	378	24	277	16	90	24	361	31	188	27
XII Tower Grv.	3,087	100			411	100	83		184	100	274	100	167	100	273	100	941	100	754	100	432	100
Members	2,019	65			238	58	53	64	154	84	185	68	118	71	198	73	613	65	460	61	149	35
Attend	546	18			88	21	16	19	8	4	40	14	32	19	36	13	154	16	172	23	148	34
Prefer	522	17			85	21	14	17	22	12	49	18	17	10	39	39	174	19	122	16	135	31

TABLE XLVI—NUMBER AND PER CENT. DISTRIBUTION OF ALL PROTESTANT PERSONS 13 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER FOR WHOM INFORMATION WAS SECURED ACCORDING TO CHURCH MEMBERSHIP, CHURCH ATTENDANCE OR CHURCH PREFERENCES BY DISTRICTS AND DENOMINATIONS, 1919-1920.—(Continued)

Districts	SPECIFIED PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONS																				Other Denominations	
	Total		Adventist		Baptist		Congregational		Disciples of Christ		Episcopal		Evangelical		Lutheran		Methodist		Presbyterian			
	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.
XIV Central	2,542	100	2	.....	407	100	55	.....	174	100	168	100	253	100	314	100	857	100	312	100	232	100
Members	1,504	59	1	.....	206	51	33	60	113	65	127	76	172	68	218	69	455	53	179	57	126	54
Attend	546	22	.....	.....	110	27	15	27	30	17	19	11	60	24	55	18	186	22	71	23	44	19
Prefer	492	19	1	.....	91	22	7	13	31	18	22	13	21	8	41	13	216	25	62	20	62	27
XV Harney Hts	664	100	13	.....	68	.....	6	.....	31	.....	18	.....	249	100	119	100	64	.....	96	.....	49	100
Members	305	46	1	8	29	43	1	17	21	68	8	44	102	41	74	62	30	47	39	41	27	55
Attend	197	30	12	92	21	31	4	66	3	10	8	45	94	38	22	19	8	12	25	26	13	27
Prefer	162	24	.....	.....	18	26	1	17	7	22	2	11	53	21	23	19	26	41	32	33	9	18
XVI Arlington	8,309	100	6	.....	1,309	100	478	100	630	100	544	100	898	100	1,103	100	1,662	100	1,679	100	799	100
Members	5,015	59	.....	.....	762	58	295	62	408	65	358	66	553	62	697	63	975	59	967	58	392	49
Attend	1,746	22	6	100	297	23	122	26	135	21	90	17	190	21	218	20	302	18	386	23	210	26
Prefer	1,548	19	.....	.....	250	19	61	12	87	14	96	17	155	17	188	17	385	23	326	19	197	25
XVII West End	10,837	100	5	.....	1,275	100	747	100	759	100	1,970	100	184	100	460	100	2,246	100	3,191	100	1,629	100
Members	7,659	71	5	.....	853	67	538	72	586	77	1,467	74	133	72	317	69	1,526	68	2,234	70	836	51
Attend	2,090	19	.....	.....	287	22	143	19	119	16	332	17	32	17	97	21	438	20	642	20	366	22
Prefer	1,088	10	.....	.....	135	11	66	9	54	7	171	9	19	11	46	10	282	12	315	10	427	27

XVIII Manch'r	786	100	.....	.....	65	.....	80	.....	54	.....	89	.....	83	.....	100	100	148	100	167	100	77	100
Members	475	60	.....	.....	36	55	41	51	33	61	71	80	68	82	66	66	85	57	75	45	48	62
Attend	125	16	.....	.....	14	22	24	30	10	19	9	10	2	2	4	4	32	22	30	18	15	20
Prefer	186	24	.....	.....	15	23	15	19	11	20	9	10	13	16	30	30	31	21	62	37	14	18
XIX Southwest	1,299	100	.....	.....	145	100	178	100	86	.....	100	100	153	100	168	100	351	100	112	100	81	100
Members	887	68	.....	.....	97	67	119	67	69	80	76	76	117	76	97	58	234	65	78	70	37	46
Attend	227	18	.....	.....	13	9	29	16	15	17	15	15	23	15	43	26	70	20	19	17	28	34
Prefer	185	14	.....	.....	35	24	30	17	2	2	9	9	13	9	28	16	53	15	15	13	16	20
University City	842	100	.....	.....	91	100	39	100	39	100	143	100	40	100	39	100	261	100	190	100	102	100
Members	614	73	.....	.....	63	69	30	77	31	79	99	69	34	85	31	80	179	68	147	77	61	60
Attend	157	19	.....	.....	23	25	5	13	5	13	32	23	3	8	2	5	59	23	28	15	31	30
Prefer	71	8	.....	.....	5	6	4	10	3	8	12	8	3	7	6	15	23	9	15	8	10	10

TABLE XLVII—SUNDAY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF PROTESTANT PERSONS UNDER 24 YEARS, FOR WHOM INFORMATION WAS SECURED IN ALL DISTRICTS, BY DISTRICTS AND BY DENOMINATIONS, 1919-1920

Denominations	*DISTRICTS*							
	All Dist's	*I*	*II B*	*IV*	*V*	*VIII*	*IX*	*X A*
All Protes't Denominations	29,580	1,194	786	4,096	2,114	4,546	1,594	1,446
Attending	16,953	640	659	2,032	1,142	2,641	690	653
Not Attending	12,627	554	127	2,064	972	1,905	904	793
Adventist	48	3	.....	3	.....	23	2	5
Attending	15	2	.....	.....	.....	11	.....	.....
Not Attending	33	1	.....	3	.....	12	2	5
Baptist	3,171	100	70	482	183	378	289	296
Attending	1,671	48	49	247	84	203	107	136
Not Attending	1,500	52	21	235	99	175	182	160
Congregational	1,166	.....	67	20	84	91	23	94
Attending	796	.....	59	2	57	47	9	67
Not Attending	370	.....	8	18	27	44	14	27
Disciples of Christ	1,408	131	.....	147	134	115	54	138
Attending	751	92	.....	41	39	55	13	68
Not Attending	657	39	.....	106	95	60	41	70
Episcopal	1,424	37	11	122	62	143	62	56
Attending	758	22	8	47	26	65	27	23
Not Attending	666	15	3	75	36	78	35	33
Evangelical	5,278	232	259	1,014	743	1,379	205	88
Attending	3,005	118	217	515	462	843	120	25
Not Attending	2,273	114	42	499	281	536	85	63
Lutheran	4,978	229	124	842	532	951	336	180
Attending	2,625	96	95	443	263	565	185	87
Not Attending	2,353	133	29	399	269	386	151	93
Methodist	5,078	163	34	782	175	628	327	286
Attending	2,949	98	28	361	79	368	120	123
Not Attending	2,129	65	6	421	96	260	207	163
Presbyterian	5,230	243	192	400	96	552	188	213
Attending	3,521	147	177	247	63	338	71	99
Not Attending	1,709	96	15	153	33	214	117	114
Other Denominations	1,799	56	29	284	105	286	108	90
Attending	862	17	26	129	69	146	38	25
Not Attending	937	39	3	155	36	140	70	65

TABLE XLVII—SUNDAY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF PROTESTANT PERSONS UNDER 24 YEARS, FOR WHOM INFORMATION WAS SECURED IN ALL DISTRICTS, BY DISTRICTS AND BY DENOMINATIONS, 1919-1920—(Continued)

	DISTRICTS									
X B	*XI A*	*XI B*	*XII*	*XIV*	*XV*	*XVI*	*XVII*	*XVIII*	*IX*	*University City*
671	1,328	2,325	1,197	1,090	326	2,924	2,480	425	654	384
361	844	1,275	637	553	212	2,060	1,729	251	312	262
310	484	1,050	560	537	114	864	751	174	342	122
.....	.....	1	1	1	8	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	1	1	1	6	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
122	65	53	159	156	39	416	247	33	57	26
76	34	36	83	73	28	278	133	16	27	13
46	31	17	76	83	11	138	114	17	30	13
23	10	19	14	17	6	246	205	54	171	22
16	5	13	6	11	2	179	170	43	92	18
7	5	6	8	6	4	67	35	11	79	4
21	10	22	55	81	13	216	205	22	36	8
18	2	11	19	34	12	152	171	4	16	4
3	8	11	36	47	1	64	34	18	20	4
25	129	38	68	47	8	111	381	26	39	59
12	98	14	21	16	4	68	236	11	16	44
13	31	24	47	31	4	43	145	15	23	15
73	216	558	28	43	120	193	22	19	83	3
25	135	269	8	29	78	125	12	3	19	2
48	81	289	20	14	42	68	10	16	64	1
110	208	706	62	96	39	349	81	54	74	5
32	115	343	16	39	26	229	49	26	16	.....
78	93	363	46	57	13	120	32	28	58	5
141	128	131	421	441	18	580	467	59	129	168
88	94	66	270	224	7	419	339	44	81	140
53	34	65	151	217	11	161	128	15	48	28
116	435	673	309	131	70	679	709	126	42	56
76	308	475	178	88	48	534	523	87	56	26
40	127	198	131	43	22	145	186	39	6	30
40	127	124	80	77	5	134	162	32	23	37
18	53	48	36	39	5	76	96	17	9	15
22	74	76	44	38	.....	58	66	15	14	22

TABLE XLVIII—NUMBER AND PER CENT. DISTRIBUTION BY AGE OF ALL PROTESTANT SUNDAY SCHOOL CHILDREN FOR WHOM AGE AND SUNDAY SCHOOL INFORMATION WAS SECURED BY DISTRICTS AND BY AGE-GROUPS

District Numbers	PROTESTANT CHILDREN ATTENDING SUNDAY SCHOOL FOR WHOM AGE INFORMATION WAS SECURED																	
	Total		Age Groups															
			Under 3		3-4-5		6-7-8		9-10-11		12-13-14		15-16-17		18-19-20		21-22-23	
	No.	P. C.	No.	P. C.	No.	P. C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P. C.	No.	P. C.	No.	P. C.	No.	P. C.	No.	P. C.
Total	13,377	100	454	3	1,640	12	2,574	19	2,840	21	2,621	20	1,790	14	976	7	474	4
I	561	100	20	4	66	12	112	20	123	22	107	18	66	12	43	8	24	4
II B	630	100	17	3	75	12	134	21	132	21	139	22	79	12	36	6	18	3
IV	1,353	100	43	3	159	12	281	21	292	22	280	21	190	14	73	5	35	2
V	975	100	31	3	128	13	181	19	216	22	192	20	133	14	70	7	24	2
VIII	1,288	100	68	5	144	11	258	20	286	22	240	19	174	14	80	6	30	3
IX	504	100	18	4	65	13	97	19	106	21	99	20	65	13	38	7	16	3
X A	520	100	20	4	74	14	90	17	105	20	89	17	72	14	50	10	20	4
X B	253	100	7	3	27	11	40	16	59	23	44	17	33	13	26	10	17	7
XI A	673	100	17	3	81	12	132	20	156	23	142	21	85	13	43	6	17	2
XI B	995	100	37	4	113	11	177	18	203	20	197	20	138	14	89	9	41	4
XII	642	100	23	4	83	13	121	19	148	23	117	18	71	11	45	7	34	5
XIV	299	100	12	4	40	14	55	18	66	22	60	20	42	14	17	6	7	2
XV	161	100	1	(a)	23	14	35	22	42	26	33	21	19	12	5	3	3	2
XVI	1,799	100	64	4	250	13	347	19	369	21	342	19	241	13	128	7	70	4
XVII	1,963	100	50	3	232	12	357	18	367	19	396	20	281	14	180	9	100	5
XVIII	224	100	10	4	30	13	54	24	53	24	35	16	24	11	14	6	4	2
XIX	289	100	10	3	25	9	50	18	56	19	66	23	53	18	21	7	8	3
University City	248	100	6	2	37	15	53	21	61	26	43	17	24	10	18	7	6	2

Section V

MOBILITY OF POPULATION AND OF CHURCHES

(See Chapter IV, p. 57 f.)

TABLE XLIX—GAIN OR LOSS OF POPULATION BY SURVEY DISTRICTS, 1910–1920.

District		*Gain or Loss* *Number*	*Per cent.*
XX	Gain	5,125	43.5
XI A	"	7,500	41.8
XVII	"	21,639	39.2
XII	"	9,680	38.7
XV	"	4,800	33.4
XIX	"	6,906	30.2
XI B	"	6,510	29.1
XVIII	"	2,470	28.8
XVI	"	12,216	25.2
VIII	"	11,961	21.1
VI	"	900	19.8
VII	"	900	18.5
I	"	6,685	18.0
XIV	"	10,972	15.4
X A	"	3,675	10.8
XIII	"	2,175	10.6
IX	"	3,726	6.1
X B	"	1,548	5.7
II A	"	66	0.3
V	Loss	421	— 1.3
IV	"	2,627	— 6.2
II B	"	10,959	—15.8
III	"	18,685	—29.3

The districts are divided into four classes showing respectively the area of greatest gains, of gains above average, of gains below average and of smallest gains or actual loss.

The method of estimating mobility of population was the following: The number of changes of residence in 9,009 houses occupying 576 blocks and involving 6,634 families was counted from the City Directory for the year 1920. This sample was distributed

between the districts approximately in proportion to their population. The total number of changes was 3,317 or over 36 per cent. Assuming that the areas studied were representative of their several districts the following rates of change of habitation were calculated:

TABLE L—PER CENT. OF FAMILIES CHANGING HABITATION WITHIN THE YEAR 1920 BY DISTRICTS

District	*Per cent.*
IX	56.4
III	53.5
XIV	44.8
XIX	39.4
I	38.9
IV	38.1
VIII	38.1
XVIII	37.3
XV	37.1
XVI	36.9
XVII	36.2
II B	35.5
X B	34.9
VII	34.9
VI	33.8
XX	33.4
XIII	33.2
XII	31.9
V	31.3
II A	28.7
XI B	27.6
XI B	27.4
X A	26.4

TABLE LI—GEOGRAPHICAL MOVEMENTS OF 69 ST. LOUIS PROTESTANT CHURCHES BY DECADES SINCE 1871 AND BY DISTRICTS.

Decade	*Removals from Districts*		*Removals to Districts*		*Removals within Districts*	
1871–1880	District III	2	District XI	2	District III	2
	" V	1	" XIV	1		
	" IX	1	" VIII	1		
	Total	4		4		2
1881–1890	District II B	1	District IX	3	District I	2
	" III	5	" X A	1	" IV	2
	" IX	1	" X B	1	" IX	1
			" XIV	2	" XIV	1
	Total	7		7		6

TABLE LI—GEOGRAPHICAL MOVEMENTS OF 69 ST. LOUIS PROTESTANT CHURCHES BY DECADES SINCE 1871 AND BY DISTRICTS—(Continued)

1891–1900.....	District	II B.. 1	District	XIV.. 1	District	I.. 2
	"	IX.. 2	"	XVII.. 2	"	II B.. 1
	"	XIV.. 1	"	X B.. 1	"	IV.. 1
					"	V.. 1
					"	VIII.. 1
					"	XIV.. 1
					"	XVII.. 1
	Total	4		4		8
1901–1910.....	District	II B.. 1	District	II B.. 1	District	I.. 2
	"	III.. 3	"	IV.. 1	"	XI B.. 1
	"	IV.. 1	"	VIII.. 4	"	XIII.. 2
	"	IX.. 5	"	X A.. 1	"	XIV.. 1
	"	XIV.. 4	"	XVII.. 8	"	XVII.. 2
	"	XVI.. 1				
	Total	15		15		8
1911–1921.....	District	II B.. 1	District	VIII.. 2	District	IV.. 1
	"	III.. 3	"	X B.. 1	"	VIII.. 1
	"	IX.. 3	"	XIV.. 3	"	XVI.. 1
	"	XIV.. 4	"	XVI.. 2		
	"	XVII.. 1	"	XVII.. 2		
			"	XVIII.. 1		
			Suburbs	1		
	Total	12		12		3
Fifty Year totals		42		42		27

TABLE LII—SCHEDULE FOR STUDY OF GEOGRAPHICAL MOVEMENTS OF CHURCHES

(Including Transfer and Abandonment of Church Property)

Name of Church.....Denomination.....Present Location.....

1. Date of Organization of the Church. Year.....
   What determined its location.....
   Concentration of Church Membership. Yes..... No.....
   Value of Land. Yes..... No.....
   Composition of Community. Yes..... No.....
   Remarks.

2. Number of years in Location.....
   Why did it leave this location.....
   In debt. Yes..... No.....
   Decrease of population. Yes..... No.....
   Followed constituency. Yes..... No.....
   Seeking opportunity for physical expansion. Yes..... No.....
   The invasion of Business. Yes..... No.....
   The invasion of Foreign Born. Yes..... No.....
   The invasion of Negroes. Yes..... No.....
   Other reasons.

3. Church membership at the time of moving.....
   Sunday School Membership.....

4. How adequately churched was the territory from which it moved
   Amply..... Sufficiently..... Insufficiently.....

5. What disposition was made of the old property
   Its value $..... Transferred to other Denomination.....
   Sold ..... Other.....

6. How was sale money used
   Paid debt ..... Invested in relocation.....
   Endowment..... Other.....

7. What determined the new location
   Union with other church..... Location of your church membership.....
   Land values .....
   Composition of new community.....
   Facilities for transportation .....
   Other .....

8. Distance from old church.

9. How adequately was the neighborhood of the new location churched when you entered it
   Amply..... Sufficiently..... Insufficiently.....

10. What did the church consider it gained from relocating
    Income..... Proximity to membership.....
    Larger potential membership.....
    Better neighborhood environment.....
    Improved physical facilities for church.....
    Other.....

11. What did it consider that it lost
    Membership..... Transient attendance (Hotel, etc.).
    Traditions developed around old building and location.....

12. Give the dates of change of pastors ....

13. What is the geographical distribution of your present membership
    Per cent. within walking distance.....
    Per cent. from outside the neighborhood.....

14. Summarize additional data of value.

15. What are the limits of your Church parish?
    Please state on back, with rough diagram, *showing boundaries.*

Section VI

RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY

(See Chapter IV, p. 78 f.)

METHOD OF RELIGIOUS RANKING OF SURVEY DISTRICTS

The ranking of survey districts on the first three points of the following table is based upon the household canvass. Because of a Protestant bias in the survey as explained on page 293, its results could not be used to determine the numerical distribution of population as between the several faiths or as between all faiths and none. As between survey districts, however, they are assumed to be reliable because this bias presumably operated in the same direction and equally everywhere. The per cent. of departure in a given district from the ratio of adherents and non-adherents in the whole city and of Protestant and Catholics as well as the per cent. of "other Protestants" is given in the first three columns. They indicate definitely the order in which the districts stand though less exactly the length of the steps which separate them.

On the fourth and fifth points the ranking of districts is based upon Table XLVI, the ratio of attendants and preferents to members of the entire city being taken as a provisional norm for the several districts.

On the sixth point the ranking is based upon Table XLVII directly, and on the seventh point it is based upon the same table with ranking re-arranged by handicapping districts in proportion as they depart in the city ratio between children and adolescents in Sunday school, this ratio being accepted as a provisional norm.

On the eighth and ninth points ranking is based upon unpublished summaries of the household canvass as relating to the Sunday school.

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TABLE LIII—RANKING OF SURVEY DISTRICTS BY NINE RELIGIOUS CRITERIA

I		*II*		*III*		*IV*		*V*	
Total Church Adherents Relative to Persons With No Preference in Population Above Thirteen Years Old		*Strength of Protestant Church Relative to Catholic*		*Small Proportion of "Other Protestant" Relative to Regular Evangelical Protestants*		*Approximation to Normal Ratio Between Classes of Adherents*		*Ratio of Church Attendants to Preferents*	
District	*P. C. Variation*	*District*	*P. C. Variation*	*District*	*Per Cent.*	*District*	*P. C. of Departure*	*District*	*P. C. Excess*
II B	6	Univ. City	40	XIX	2	VIII	0	V	15
XVII	2	XVII	23	XVI	3	II B	0	I	13
IX	2	V	14	XV	3	IV	1	VIII	11
V	1	XII	14	X B	3	XIV	2	XI B	11
XV	1	X B	11	V	3	XVI	2	Univ. City	11
VIII	1	XI A	7	IV	3	XVIII	3	XVII	9
XVI	1	XI B	6	I	3	XI A	4	XV	6
I	1	VIII	0	XIV	3	X B	5	XI A	5
Univ. City	0	I	0	VIII	4	IX	8	XIX	4
XIX	0	XVIII	0	II B	4	XII	8	IV	4
XVIII	0	X A	3	IX	4	V	8	II B	3
XIV	0	IX	5	XVIII	4	XIX	11	IX	3
XI B	1	IV	8	X A	5	XV	11	XIV	3
IX	1	XVI	8	XI B	5	I	12	XVI	3
XII	2	XV	14	XII	6	XI B	14	X B	2
X B	3	II B	15	XI A	7	XV	14	XII	1
XI A	3	XIV	15	XVII	7	Univ. City	16	XVIII	8
X A	5	XIX	20	Univ. City	7	X A	24	X A	33

TABLE LIII—RANKING OF SURVEY DISTRICTS BY NINE RELIGIOUS CRITERIA—(Continued)

VI		*VII*		*VIII*		*IX*		*X*	
Sunday School Enrollment of Protestant Adherents, Twenty-four Years Old and Under		*Approximation to Normal Ratio Between Children and Adolescents Attendant in Sunday School*		*Adherents Under Twenty-four Years Old, both in Church and Sunday School**		*Adherents Under Twenty-four Years Old Attending Neither Church nor Sunday School**		*Rank of Combined Weight of Nine Criteria*	
District	*Per Cent.*	*District*	*Per Cent.*	*District*	*Per Cent.*	*District*	*Per Cent.*	*District*	*Rank*
II B	84	I	1	XIX	69	XVI	29	XVI	1
XVI	70	XVI	1	XVI	68	XVII	30	XVII	2
XVII	70	V	2	XVII	67	Univ. City	31	VIII	3
Univ. City	68	VIII	2	Univ. City	67	XV	33	Univ. City	4
XV	65	IX	2	X B	65	XI A	35	II B	5
XI A	64	XI B	2	XIV	65	XVIII	39	V	6
XVIII	59	XII	2	VIII	56	VIII	42	I	7
VIII	58	X A	3	XVIII	52	XI B	43	XV	8
XI B	55	XIV	3	XV	51	I	44	XVIII	9
X B	54	XVII	3	I	51	IV	45	XI A	10
I	54	XIX	3	V	50	XII	45	XI B	11
V	54	II B	4	XI B	49	V	45	X B	12
XII	53	IV	4	XII	46	X B	50	XIV	13
XIV	51	XI A	4	XI A	44	X A	52	IV	14
IV	50	X B	5	IV	41	XIV	53	XII	15
XIX	48	XVIII	6	IX	38	IX	54	XIX	16
X A	45	Univ. City	6	X A	28	XIX	56	IX	17
IX	43	XV	8					X A	18

* Data for II B not secured.

Section VII

THE LOCAL CHURCH AND SUNDAY SCHOOL

(See Chapters V, VI and VII.)

THE LOCAL CHURCHES

The composite picture of the St. Louis white churches of regular Protestant denominations, as presented in Chapter V, is based primarily on 114 schedules received from a well-distributed and representative sample consisting of 72 per cent. of the total. Their distribution is indicated by the following table:

TABLE LIV—DISTRIBUTION OF CHURCHES FOR WHICH SURVEY INFORMATION WAS RECEIVED BY DISTRICTS

Districts	*Total White Protestant Churches Located by Districts*	*Number of Churches for which Information Was Secured*
All Districts	192[1]	114
1	12	4
II A	5	2
II B	17	12
III	6	5
IV	12	12
V	6	1
VI	0	0
VII	4	3
VIII	19	8
IX	9	7
X A	7	3
X B	7	3
XI A	6	2
XI B	4	2
XII	4	1
XIII	8	2
XIV	10	8
XV	8	6
XVI	13	12
XVII	20	13
XVIII	6	3
XIX	5	3
XX	4	2

[1] A subsequent statement of the Church Federation puts the number of regular reporting churches in the city at 199—but the location of the additional seven is not specified.

LOCAL CHURCH SCHEDULE

The following is a sample of the schedule used in the local church study. The schedule is an abbreviation of the very exhaustive schedule devised by the Interchurch World Movement. The returns even on this limited inquiry were so incomplete that only a part of them could be tabulated. The schedules were filled out by the pastors themselves or by some other subordinate church officer, supplemented in some cases by visits from representatives of the Survey who helped fill out the questionnaire.

THE LOCAL SUNDAY SCHOOL

TABLE LV—NUMBER AND DISTRIBUTION OF SUNDAY SCHOOLS WHICH FILLED OUT SURVEY SCHEDULES BY DISTRICTS AND DENOMINATIONS.

Districts	*Number of Schools*	*Number of Denominations*
I	4	3
II A	2	2
II B	9	5
III	4	4
IV	10	7
VII	3	3
VIII	8	4
IX	1	1
X A	2	2
X B	2	2
XI A	2	2
XII	1	1
XIII	2	2
XIV	5	3
XV	3	3
XVI	5	3
XVII	10	6
XVIII	3	3
XIX	2	2
XX	2	2
XI B	2	2

The schedule used to secure information for the St. Louis Survey was an exceedingly elaborate one prepared by the Interchurch World Movement. It is not published because of its extreme length. Its technical detail was such that only trained field workers giving adequate time could use it successfully. Such conditions were not obtained in St. Louis. This generally accounts for the limited character and results of the religious education study.

DENOMINATION NAME OF CHURCH ADDRESS

Position	NAME	EDUCATION						
		Early Education		College Education	Seminary Education	Post Graduate	Training School	
		City Check	Rural Check	Write Name of College	Write Name of Seminary	Write Yes or No	Write Yes or No	
Pastor								
Assistant Pastor								
Director Religious Education								
Director Social and Community Service								
Deaconess								
Visitor								
Pastor's Secretary								

SERVICE RECORD

Position	Check		Length of Service At This Place		In Pastorate		Annual Salary	
	Full Time	Part Time	Yrs.	Mos.	Yrs.	Mos.	Present 1921	Increase in 5 Yrs.
Pastor								
Assistant Pastor								
Director Religious Education								
Director Social or Community Service								

		Number	Work	Place	Support Given
Staff on Mission Field	Home				
	City				
	Foreign				

CURRENT FINANCES

Receipts Total Annual 1920		*Expenditures Total Annual 1920*	
Capital Income		Music, including Music Dir.	
Interest		Maintenance of Bldg.	
Rentals		Janitor	
Total		Coal, Light, etc.	
Other Sources		Repairs	
Grants		Taxes, Ins., etc.	
(Home Mission)		Total	
Total		Miscellaneous	
Grand Total		Loans pd.	
		Int. pd.	
		Advertising	
		All other	
		Total	
		Maintenance of den. org's	
		Grand total	

CURRENT BENEVOLENCES

Receipts		*Expenditures*	
Loose Collections		Denominat'l	
Envelopes		City	
Total		Elsewhere	
		Total	
		Other causes	
		Total	
		Grand total	

ASSETS

Church and Grounds			*Church House*			*Pastor's Residence*		
	Cost	*Value*		*Cost*	*Value*		*Cost*	*Value*
Lot*			Lot*			Lot*		
Bldg.			Bldg.			Bldg.		
Equipm't			Equipm't			Furnish'gs.		
Total			Furnish'gs.			Total		
			Total					

Other Bldg., Cost $..... Value $..... Missions, Cost $..... Value $.....

* If not on church grounds.

CHURCH ACTIVITIES AND SERVICE (CHECK)

Inside Organization Mobilized for Service		*Interchurch Activity*		*Community Service*	
Sunday School		Church Athletic League		Health	
Women's For. Miss. Soc.		Church Baseball		Visiting Nurse	
Women's Home Miss. Soc.		Church Basketball		Dispensary	
Ladies' Aid		State S. S. Assn.		Gymnasium Classes	
Men's Club or Brotherh'd		County S. S. Assn.		Health Classes	
Women's Club		State Y. P. S. C. E.		Education	
Mothers' Meeting		Dist. Y. P. S. C. E.		Kindergarten	
Parents' Assn.		State Denom. Y. P. S.		Library	
Boy Scouts		Dist. Denom. Y. P. S.		Concerts	
Boys' Clubs		Other		Lectures	
Campfire Girls				Occupational Employm't	
King's Daughters				Day Nursery	
Girl's Friendly Soc.				Employment Agency	
Girls' Club				Classes in	
Chorus Choir				English	
Organized Welcome				Sewing	
Orchestra Band				Music	
Young People's Society				Dramatics	
Dramatic Club				Domestic Science	
Sunday P. M. Tea				Decoration	
Mission Study Class				Cooking	
Receptions					
Dinners					

CITY COÖPERATION AND SERVICE

Organized Charities		Child Welfare Organization	
Social Service Groups		Children's Homes	
Homes for the Aged		Y. M. C. A.	
Anti-Saloon League		Y. W. C. A.	
Salvation Army		City Mission Societies	
Rescue Missions		Bible Societies	
Big Brother Movement		Big Sister Movement	

BUILDING AND EQUIPMENT

Number of seats in auditorium?

Have you any of the following? (Write yes or no)

Organ? Stereopticon? Motion Picture Machine? Lantern?

Educational and Social Facilities

Assembly Room (Not main auditorium) seats No.

Which of the following additional facilities have you? Check

Office		Baths
Pastor's Study	Printing Plant	Day Kindergarten
Office for	Drinking Fountain	Reading Room
Educ. Admin.	Electric Sign	Day Nursery
Duplicat'g Device	Bulletin Board	Kitchen
Addressograph	Inside	Black Boards
Maps	Outside	Gymnasium
	Toilets	Swimming Pool

Service in Language Other Than English	Language	Time	How Often	Character	Av. Attendance
	Language	Time	How Often	Character	Av. Attendance
	Language	Time	How Often	Character	Av. Attendance

Evangelistic Meetings in Past Year

Local Church

Describe How Long Results

In coöperation with other churches

Describe How Long Results

What organizations have you for personal evangelism?

Section VIII

PROTESTANT AND OTHER PHILANTHROPIES

(See Chapter IX.)

The tables in this section were compiled for the Survey by Dr. Geo. B. Mangold, Director of the Missouri School of Social Economy, from the published reports of the institutions involved supplemented by personal inquiry.

TABLE LVI—PROTESTANT AND OTHER PHILANTHROPIES

	Hospitals, Old People's Homes, Children's and Special Institutions	*All Property Value*	*Cost of Operating Institutions 1st Column*	*Cost of Other Work*	*Total Cost of Operating All Agencies*
Lutheran	$750,000	$750,000	$123,306	$26,496	$149,802
Presbyterian	.....	65,000	.....	35,000	35,000
Disciples of Christ	330,000	330,000	75,343	.....	75,343
German Evangelical	547,105	557,105	161,565	29,400	190,965
Baptist	695,000	715,000	254,000	10,316	264,316
Episcopal	505,000	927,500	334,804	64,928	399,727
Unitarian	75,000	75,000	8,000	.....	8,000
Methodist Episcopal, South	1,553,000	1,628,000	74,400	38,558	112,958
Methodist Episcopal	18,000	126,500	7,500	12,500	20,000
Independent Protestant	221,425	221,425	75,500	7,952	83,452
Salvation Army	15,000	not given	8,000	.....	.....
Union Mission	70,000	70,000	7,000	.....	7,000
Interdenominational	149,500	149,500	35,583	.....	35,583
Protestant, excluding Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A.	$4,929,020	$5,615,030	$1,156,941	$225,205	$1,382,146
Y. M. C. A.	.....	1,185,000	.....	400,000	400,000
Y. W. C. A.	.....	414,867	.....	439,470	439,470
Total Protestant	$4,929,030	$7,214,897	$1,156,941	$1,064,675	$2,221,616
Non-Sectarian	1,425,621	1,724,375	404,559	523,796	928,355
Catholic	3,336,300	3,764,000	.....	88,574	.....
Jews	721,000	831,500	199,440	64,651	264,091

TABLE LVII — HOSPITALS

Denomination	*Number*	*Value*	*Cost*	*Capacity*
Baptist	2	$615,000	$236,000	475
Disciples of Christ	1	40,000	17,600	35
German Evangelical	1	202,105	84,720	110
Lutheran	1	590,000	76,000	97
Protestant Episcopal	1	400,000	300,000	175
Methodist Episcopal, South	1	1,178,367	40,000	250
Independent Protestant	1	39,225	20,000	75
Total Protestant	8	$3,064,697	$774,320	1,217
Roman Catholic	8	$1,900,000	*	1,200
Jewish	1	235,000	$ 83,000	110
Non-Sectarian	4	653,000	220,900	276
City	4	1,176,000	656,000	1,655
Total	25	$7,028,697	$1,734,220	4,458

TABLE LVIII — CHILDREN'S HOMES

Denomination	*Number*	*Value*	*Cost*	*Capacity*
German Evangelical	1	$170,000	$31,800	240
Lutheran	2	125,000	36,000	220
Methodist Episcopal, South	2	200,000	34,400	193
Baptist	1	80,000	18,000	196
Disciples of Christ	2	165,000	43,000	230
Methodist Episcopal	1	18,000	7,500	30
Episcopal	2	80,000	23,000	95
Unitarian	1	75,000	8,000	50
Holiness	1	20,000	5,000	30
Independent Protestant	2	155,000	35,500	175
Total Protestant	15	$1,088,000	$242,200	1,459
Roman Catholic	9	$835,000	$206,069	1,570
Jewish	2	100,000	35,000	74
Non-Sectarian	3	224,000	41,900	295
Total	29	$2,247,000	$525,169	3,398

* Excludes cost of operation of Catholic hospitals. Cost of charity work of these hospitals was $281,748. Entire cost was much larger.

TABLE LIX — SPECIAL INSTITUTIONS

Protestant	*Property Value*	*Cost of Operation*	*Capacity*
German Evangelical (2) Feebleminded.	$150,000	$43,552	154
Episcopal Convalescent	25,000	11,804	10
Union Mission Rescue	50,000	2,000	15
Salvation Army Rescue	15,000	8,000	..
Catholic	436,300	71,910	..
Good Shepherd	300,000	56,400	430
Deaf Institute	35,000	10,000	100
Dempsey Day Nursery and Temporary Home	91,300	5,510	..
Jewish			
Miriam Convalescent	11,000	5,139	24
Chronic Invalids (T. B.)	250,000	38,019	62
Non-Sectarian			
Blind Girls' Home	125,000	9,104	45
Deaf Institute	70,000	36,175	65

Section IX

THE DENOMINATIONS

(See Chapter X.)

TABLE LX—CHURCH MEMBERSHIP OF ST. LOUIS DENOMINATIONS (WHITE) OFFICIALLY REPORTED BY THE CHURCH FEDERATION, 1921.

Denomination	*Total Number*	*City Number*	*Suburbs Number*	*County Outside Suburbs Number*
Total	109,741	93,671	11,423	4,647
Baptist	9,491	8,423	971	97
Congregational	3,903	2,593	1,284	26
Disciples of Christ	4,697	3,947	750	..
Evangelical Synod of North America	18,614	15,972	695	947
Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri	20,767	16,286	2,460	2,021
United Lutheran	354	142	212	..
Augustana Lutheran	180	180	..	..
Evangelical Lutheran Synod of North America	282	282	..	..
Independent	600	600	..	..
Independent Evangelical Protestant	411	411	..	..
Methodist Episcopal	7,167	6,222	453	492
Methodist Episcopal, South	10,772	9,782	990	..
Free Methodist	48	48	..	..
Presbyterian, U.S.	1,861	1,600	221	40
Presbyterian, U.S.A.	12,245	10,401	1,844	..
United Presbyterian	833	623	210	..
German Presbyterian	130	130	..	..
Protestant Episcopal	7,270	6,013	1,233	24
Reformed Church in United States	250	250	..	..
Union, Jennings	100	..	100	..
All Others (26)	9,766	9,766	..	..

TABLE LXI—CHURCH MEMBERSHIP OF ST. LOUIS NEGRO DENOMINATIONS OFFICIALLY REPORTED BY THE CHURCH FEDERATION, 1921.

Denomination	*Total Number*	*City Number*	*Suburbs Number*	*County Outside Suburbs Number*
Total	30,964	29,799	1,077	88
Baptist Bodies	17,723	16,961	674	88
Antioch Association	10,430	9,999	343	88
Berean Association	3,889	3,558	331	..

TABLE LXI—CHURCH MEMBERSHIP OF ST. LOUIS NEGRO DENOMINATIONS OFFICIALLY REPORTED BY THE CHURCH FEDERATION, 1921—(Continued)

Denomination	*Total Number*	*City Number*	*Suburbs Number*	*County Outside Suburbs Number*
Independent Baptist	2,200	2,200	..	..
Missionary Baptist, Shiloh	724	724	..	..
Free Baptists	480	480	..	..
Methodist Bodies	11,752	11,349	403	..
African Methodist Episcopal	3,910	3,675	235	..
Zion African Methodist Episcopal	2,349	2,324	25	..
Methodist Episcopal (Colored)	3,313	3,170	143	..
Colored Methodist Episcopal	2,180	2,180	..	..
Other Protestants	1,489	1,489	..	..
Church of Christ	100	100	..	..
Church of Christ Holiness	25	25	..	..
Church of God	375	375	..	..
Holy Sanctified Baptist (Magdalene)	25	25	..	..
Centennial Christian	146	146	..	..
Episcopalian	500	500	..	..
Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri	40	40	..	..
Congregational	37	37	..	..
Presbyterian, U.S.	53	53	..	..
Presbyterian, U.S.A.	188	188	..	..

TABLE LXII — AVERAGE CHURCH MEMBERSHIP OF NINE PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONS IN ST. LOUIS AND RELATIVE GROWTH, USING MEMBERSHIP OF 1899–1901 AS THE BASE, BY THREE-YEAR PERIODS

	1899–1901		*1902–1904*		*1905–1907*		*1908–1910*		*1911–1913*		*1914–1916*		*1917–1919*	
	Average Membership	*Base*	*Average Membership*	*Relative Increase*	*Average Membership*	*Relative Increase*	*Average Membership*	*Relative Increase*	*Average Membership*	*Relative Increase*	*Average Membership*	*Relative Increase*	*Average Membership*	*Relative Increase*
Baptist	4,511	100	5,478	121	6,005	133	6,984	155	7,555	167	8,562	190	8,763	194
Congregational	3,657	100	3,918	107	3,933	108	4,263	117	3,881	106	3,855	105	3,796	104
Evangelical	11,674	100	12,744	109	14,152	121	15,630	134	15,155	130	16,804	144	17,364	149
Lutheran	9,541	100	10,206	107	11,656	122	12,384	130	16,082	169	17,054	179	17,589	184
Methodist Episcopal	2,427	100	2,857	118	3,575	147	3,840	158	4,176	172	4,777	197	5,331	220
Methodist Episcopal South	6,135	100	7,630	124	9,194	150	9,023	147	9,362	153	10,570	172	10,512	171
Presbyterian, U.S.	1,035	100	981	95	968	94	1,113	108	1,073	104	1,266	122	1,494	144
Presbyterian, U.S.A.	5,714	100	7,013	123	7,777	136	8,789	154	9,392	164	10,430	183	11,435	200
Protestant Episcopal	5,435	100	5,728	105	6,145	113	6,710	123	6,879	127	7,595	140	7,835	144
Nine Denominations	50,129	100	56,555	113	63,405	127	68,736	137	73,555	147	80,913	161	84,119	168

TABLE LXIII—AVERAGE SUNDAY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT AND RELATIVE GROWTH OF NINE PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONS IN ST. LOUIS, USING ENROLLMENT OF 1899–1901 AS THE BASE, BY THREE-YEAR PERIODS

	1899–1901		*1902–1904*		*1905–1907*		*1908–1910*		*1911–1913*		*1914–1916*		*1917–1919*	
	Average Enrollment	*Base*	*Average Enrollment*	*Relative Increase*	*Average Enrollment*	*Relative Increase*	*Average Enrollment*	*Relative Increase*	*Average Enrollment*	*Relative Increase*	*Average Enrollment*	*Relative Increase*	*Average Enrollment*	*Relative Increase*
Baptist	4,503	100	5,236	116	5,966	132	5,843	130	6,069	135	7,404	164	6,585	146
Congregational	4,576	100	4,793	105	4,435	97	4,566	100	4,375	96	4,403	96	4,071	90
Evangelical	5,137	100	6,078	118	6,521	127	7,162	139	7,898	154	9,657	188	10,386	202
Lutheran	2,710	100	2,731	101	2,677	99	2,789	103	6,527	241	7,227	267	6,852	253
Methodist Episcopal	2,511	100	3,397	135	3,997	159	4,026	160	4,273	170	4,794	191	5,034	200
Methodist Episcopal South	5,928	100	6,959	117	7,832	132	8,308	140	8,831	149	10,207	172	9,337	158
Presbyterian, U.S.	713	100	762	107	792	111	884	124	1,302	183	1,150	161	1,344	188
Presbyterian, U.S.A.	10,838	100	11,390	105	12,066	111	12,217	113	11,322	104	12,987	120	12,980	120
Protestant Episcopal	3,213	100	3,493	109	3,418	106	3,628	113	3,172	99	3,766	117	3,627	113
Nine Denominations	40,129	100	44,839	112	47,704	119	49,423	123	53,769	134	61,595	153	60,216	150

TABLE LXIV — AVERAGE ANNUAL CURRENT EXPENDITURES OF EIGHT PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONS IN ST. LOUIS, 1899–1919, BY THREE-YEAR PERIODS

	1899–1901	*1902–1904*	*1905–1907*	*1908–1910*	*1911–1913*	*1914–1916*	*1917–1919*
Baptist	$ 50,364	$ 53,620	$ 51,754	$ 72,955	$ 71,949	$ 80,686	$138,847
Congregational	53,015	59,930	102,089	93,320	82,123	61,844	77,446
Evangelical	45,802 [1]	51,328	52,580	75,954	99,265	87,636	97,834
Methodist Episcopal	49,263	60,469	87,854	91,593	91,957	144,574	110,596
Methodist Episcopal South	88,255	192,549	103,361	107,751	101,422	99,921	108,227
Presbyterian, U.S.	18,578	16,903	18,853	26,820	26,884	43,192	35,064
Presbyterian, U.S.A.	148,089	109,266	128,972	162,464	188,475	193,731	275,498
Protestant Episcopal	96,995	96,114	118,114	139,586	174,773	169,769	186,296
Average per denomination [2]	$ 70,885	$ 80,022	$ 83,197	$ 96,305	$104,606	$110,169	$128,726

TABLE LXVI — AVERAGE ANNUAL BENEVOLENCES OF EIGHT PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONS IN ST. LOUIS BY THREE-YEAR PERIODS—1899–1919

	1899–1901	*1902–1904*	*1905–1907*	*1908–1910*	*1911–1913*	*1914–1916*	*1917–1919*
Baptist	$22,848	$13,826	$17,057	$32,627	$ 35,999	$ 35,392	$ 63,261
Congregational	14,027	17,421	19,455	61,140	29,877	22,331	33,613
Evangelical	9,592	8,193	13,083	10,975	12,564	16,083	19,474
Methodist Episcopal	7,231	16,347	33,733	22,963	42,149	53,597	58,978
Methodist Episcopal South	22,194	27,017	43,870	51,621	48,567	39,083	48,605
Presbyterian, U.S.	7,486	8,941	11,014	8,798	9,385	9,352	18,767
Presbyterian, U.S.A.	43,787	69,432	76,630	96,730	123,314	138,915	138,556
Protestant Episcopal	35,371	43,049	38,232	32,589	38,357	42,415	53,332
Average per denomination	$20,317	$25,516	$31,634	$39,680	$ 42,526	$ 44,646	$ 54,326

1 One year only.

2 Lutheran financial data lacking.

TABLE LXV — AVERAGE PER CAPITA CURRENT EXPENDITURES FOR TWENTY-ONE-YEAR PERIOD, 1899–1919

	1899–1901	*1902–1904*	*1905–1907*	*1908–1910*	*1911–1913*	*1914–1916*	*1917–1919*	*Per cent. Increase or Decrease 1899–1919*
Baptist	$11	$10	$ 9	$10	$ 9	$ 9	$16	45.4
Congregational	14	15	26	22	21	16	20	42.9
Evangelical	4	4	4	5	7	5	6	50.0
Methodist Episcopal	20	21	25	24	22	30	21	5.0
Methodist Episcopal South	14	25	11	12	11	9	10	−28.6
Presbyterian, U.S.	18	17	19	24	25	34	23	27.8
Presbyterian, U.S.A.	26	16	17	19	20	19	24	— 0.8
Protestant Episcopal	18	17	19	21	25	22	24	33.3
Eight Denominations[1]	$14	$14	$13	$14	$15	$14	$15	7.1

TABLE LXVII — PER CAPITA BENEVOLENCES FOR TWENTY-ONE YEARS BY THREE-YEAR PERIODS, 1899–1919

	1899–1901	*1902–1904*	*1905–1907*	*1908–1910*	*1911–1913*	*1914–1916*	*1917–1919*
Baptist	$ 5	$ 3	$ 3	$ 5	$ 5	$ 4	$ 7
Congregational	4	4	5	14	8	6	9
Evangelical	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Methodist Episcopal	3	6	9	6	10	8	11
Methodist Episcopal South	3	4	5	4	5	4	5
Presbyterian, U.S.	7	9	11	8	9	7	13
Presbyterian, U.S.A.	8	10	10	11	13	13	13
Protestant Episcopal	5	8	6	5	6	6	7

[1] Lutheran financial data lacking.

TABLE LXVIII — NUMBER OF NEW AND LAPSED CHURCHES AND RATIO OF SAME TO PRESENT NUMBER OF CHURCHES, 1899–1919

	Number of Churches, 1917–1919			*Number of New Churches*			*Number of Lapsed Churches*			*Ratio of Surviving Churches—1917–1919*					
										Per cent. of New Churches			*Per cent. of Lapsed Churches*		
	Total	*City*	*Suburbs*	*Total*	*City*	*Suburbs*	*Total*	*City*	*Suburbs*	*Total*	*City*	*Suburbs*	*Total*	*City*	*Suburbs*
Baptist	24	19	5	14	9	5	7	6	1	58	47	100	29	32	20
Congregational	18	14	4	2	1	1	7	7	0	11	7	25	39	50	0
Evangelical	35	30	5	1	1	0	4	4	0	3	3	0	11	13	0
Lutheran	36	25	11	22	12	10	2	1	1	61	48	91	6	4	9
Methodist Episcopal	17	14	3	15	11	4	13	9	4	88	79	133	77	64	133
Methodist Episcopal South	24	16	8	10	7	3	7	5	2	42	44	38	29	31	25
Presbyterian, U.S.	4	2	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	25	0	50	0	0	0
Presbyterian, U.S.A.	36	28	8	15	13	2	11	8	3	42	46	25	31	29	38
Protestant Episcopal	31	23	8	15	8	7	6	3	3	48	35	88	19	13	38
Total	225	171	54	95	62	33	57	43	14	42	36	61	25	25	26
Disciples of Christ	13	10	3	0	0	0	12	11	1	0	0	0	92	110	33

TABLE LXIX — AVERAGE CHURCH MEMBERSHIP PER CHURCH BY THREE-YEAR PERIODS, 1899–1919

	1899–1901	*1902–1904*	*1905–1907*	*1908–1910*	*1911–1913*	*1914–1916*	*1917–1919*
Baptist	308	322	334	388	392	381	371
Congregational	182	197	193	210	208	203	211
Evangelical	422	450	457	484	455	471	487
Lutheran	576	494	514	462	473	487	484
Methodist Episcopal	155	181	196	206	246	275	305
Methodist Episcopal South	335	402	448	416	413	447	445
Presbyterian, U.S.	345	327	292	288	268	316	373
Presbyterian, U.S.A.	235	236	253	273	276	290	318
Protestant Episcopal	201	212	218	204	248	252	253
Nine Denominations	306	313	323	326	331	347	361

TABLE LXX — CHURCHES GAINING OR LOSING IN MEMBERSHIP IN TWO DECADES

1899–1909

	Total		*City*		*Suburban*	
	Gaining	*Losing*	*Gaining*	*Losing*	*Gaining*	*Losing*
Baptist	11	4	9	4	2	0
Congregational	14	6	11	5	3	1
Evangelical	18	6	17	5	1	1
Lutheran	11	4	10	4	1	0
Meth. Epis.	12	2	9	2	3	0
Meth. Epis., So.	11	4	9	2	2	2
Pres., U.S.	3	0	2	0	1	0
Pres., U.S.A.	20	4	15	4	5	0
Prot. Epis.	15	11	13	9	2	2
Nine Denominations	115	41	95	35	20	6

1909–1919

	Total		*City*		*Suburban*	
	Gaining	*Losing*	*Gaining*	*Losing*	*Gaining*	*Losing*
Baptist	16	3	13	3	3	0
Congregational	9	7	6	6	3	1
Evangelical	17	13	14	12	3	1
Lutheran	16	8	11	8	5	0
Meth. Epis.	7	2	7	1	0	1
Meth. Epis., So.	8	9	7	7	1	2
Pres., U.S.	3	1	1	1	2	0
Pres., U.S.A.	21	9	16	6	5	3
Prot. Epis.	14	10	12	9	2	1
Nine Denominations	111	62	87	53	24	9

TABLE LXXI—RATIO OF GAINS AND LOSSES IN CHURCH MEMBERSHIP BY DENOMINATIONS, ANNUAL AVERAGE, 1899–1919.

Denomination	Rank in Per cent. of Gains	Total			City			Suburban		
		Average Gains	Average Losses	Number Lost for Every 100 Gained	Average Gains	Average Losses	Number Lost for Every 100 Gained	Average Gains	Average Losses	Number Lost for Every 100 Gained
Baptist	3	948	704	74	824	635	77	123	69	56
Congregational	8	390	381	98	305	317	104	87	64	74
Evangelical	6	1,395	1,142	82	1,296	1,053	81	99	88	89
Lutheran	4	820	598	73	727	563	77	92	35	38
Methodist Episcopal	1	376	238	63	333	209	63	45	29	64
Methodist Episcopal, South	5	1,612	1,284	80	1,466	1,187	81	149	97	65
Presbyterian, U.S.	7	157	130	83	137	100	73	21	32	152
Presbyterian, U.S.A.	2	1,332	905	68	1,156	801	69	176	104	59
Protestant Episcopal	7	788	568	72	660	466	71	127	101	79
Nine Denominations.		7,819	5,950	76	6,903	5,331	77	919	619	68

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